L.M. Dewalth K-5 (1922-1924)/948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

and other relatives of their mothers as to their fathers. It was taken as a matter of course that a child had full rights in the village of his mother, and from her, as from her relatives, he likewise received various prerogatives. Thus each child was a member of a bilateral social group. From actual residence in his father's village he tended to be more intimately associated with him and his brothers than with his mother's relatives, but this did not prevent him from visiting at the home of the latter, where he was received as a member of that village. Through the bestowal of prerogatives by his mother and the members of her family, his relationship with them was further emphasized. Such a child was, in fact, a full member of two groups.

When the members of the second generation married and begot children, each of these could have been a member of four groups; that of his father's father, father's mother, mother's father, and mother's mother. The Bella Coola believe that there were approximately forty-five groups of first settlers, corresponding to the forty-five towns, and it is obvious that if the system of intermarriage had continued for a few generations, a man would have been a member of each of these first groups. They assume that their first ancestors came to this earth far more than a few generations ago, and yet at the present time no one claims to be a descendant of more than eight of these first groups, and most claim descent from only two or three. In part this can be explained by forgetfulness, though a Bella Coola would regard this statement as heresy. The residence of a man in the village of his father has tended to emphasize relationship with the ancestral group that first populated that village, and there is no doubt that actual relationship, through the mother, with the members of other groups must in many cases have been forgotten in the course of generations. The term *ancestral family*, *mentor*, is used in this monograph to designate those individuals who believe themselves to be descended from one of the first groups that populated this earth.

A man may claim descent from as many as eight of these groups, that is, he may be a member of eight ancestral families. Some restrictive means must have been employed to limit the choice of marriage partners, otherwise a man's membership in ancestral families would have been far greater than it is. The explanation lies in the high regard with which the members of an ancestral family accorded the prerogatives they have received from their fathers. With the marriage of the four women, their brothers were called upon to share their rights, both practical in regard to hunting territory, and ceremonial with regard to dance prerogatives, with their sisters' children. Bella Coola mythology contains no references to unwillingness on the part of the four men to do this; in fact, their own children benefited equally from the marriages of their fathers with other women. But, say the Bella Coola, after these four marriages, economically exigentic, men realized that it would be foolish to allow their children to marry for child and so diffuse valuable prerogatives. It was far wiser for a man to seek as future son-in-law a youth belonging to the same ancestral family as himself or his wife. Then any resultant children would come into this world provided by both parents with common relatives, so that the child would be, as they express it, "Held close and supported by a close circle of ancestors."

Bella Coola logic does not explain how marriages could have been arranged in the early generations without violating the laws of incest. The endogamic principle displayed at that time, however, has been carried out until the present day, so that a man endeavours to arrange marriages for his children with members of the same ancestral family. One of the strongest Bella Coola desires is to "make good the path" for his offspring, and this can best be done when they are born amply provided with relatives of common ancestry. There is no belief in the active participation of distant ancestors in the affairs of men, yet, though incapable of clear expression, the Bella Coola feel strongly that a child is born into the community of its deceased relatives back to the beginning of time.

This endogamic principle will be described in greater detail in vol. I, chap. [illegible], but mention of it here has been necessary to explain the composition of the ancestral family. 582 [614]

In recent years there has been a tendency for some men to marry foreign women in order that they, or their children, might obtain new prerogatives. Thus a trend towards company has arisen from the same reason which is supposed to have caused endogamy. The offspring of such marriages cannot enjoy the feeling of strength and comfort that comes from the membership of both parents in the same ancestral family, but some individuals have felt that this was offset by the gain of highly desirable foreign prerogatives. It is said that this practice was initiated by a certain *Pakka*, father of a man about sixty years old in 1903. White influence probably had nothing to do with this radical innovation, although its wide adoption has been made more easy by the establishment of peaceful conditions on the coast. [554] [177]

Strong as is the belief in a common ancestry, it is unlikely that this would have sufficed to hold together the members of the ancestral family, without some definite prerogatives. These are of two kinds: names and land. 614 554

NAMES

The fundamental principle governing Bella Coola nomenclature is that each name must have originated in connection with some event of comparative importance. It is unthinkable to apply a casual designation to a child. So a person's death his name, or names, may be transmitted to a relative, and it is proper that the owner of a name should know when, by whom, and for what reason, it was first created. Tradition affirms that, before coming to this earth, the first people were all given designations by *Myanthe*; these have been carefully handed down and are still in use. One name cannot be given to two individuals; instances occur of two people having the same one, but in such cases they have different origins. One person may have several names of different kinds, each carrying 551 [164] [553] [173] [838]

[illegible] The *ancestral family* may, therefore, be defined as those whose *deified* names are embodied in the same origin myth.

What is the stability of this group?

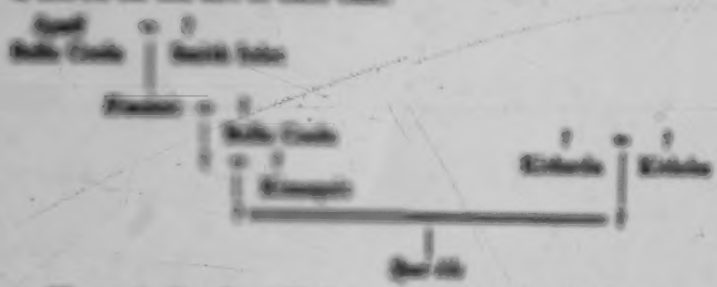
In consequence of the large number of names dimensionally embodied in every myth, and of the necessity for validating the lineament of any one of these by means of *pitsamis*, it follows that there is always a large number of dormant names. The Bella Coola describe these as being "In the burial ground." They are, in fact, dead. Any one of these may be resurrected by any member of the ancestral family. If a woman marries into a foreign tribe her relatives occasionally give her husband, outright, an ancestral name. In such a case that name is permanently alienated from the family to which it formerly belonged; this should happen only when the group is reduced to a few individuals, all of whom agree to the transaction. But more often a woman takes as a wedding gift to her husband a name which it is understood cannot be transmitted to one of his relatives unless he has children. On the death of the children husband, this designation reverts to his widow's ancestral family. If there are children, they cannot the bond of friendship between the two families. The brother of a woman as married also bestows names on her children, as further mark of their incorporation into her ancestral family. It is customary and proper, however, for the ancestral family into which a woman is married and bears children to reciprocate the compliment a few generations later, and by the marriage of one of their women to restore such names to the ancestral family to which they originally belonged. According to the Bella Coola, this practice of "return marriage" has been the rule since the first exogamic marriages of the five people, with the result that names usually return to the patrilineal descendants of the five people to use them.

If a woman marries outside her ancestral family, her children will belong to at least two distinct ancestral groups. It is difficult to say how long an individual remembers the dif-

[illegible]
[illegible] Bellacoola NEB

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION [illegible]

[illegible] units with which he is connected, but the following is an instance of survival for several generations. *Quai dik* is an orphan about ten years of age, now living in Bella Coola; he is looked upon with considerable respect as being a member of ancestral families in Bella Coola, Kimsquit, Smith Inlet, Kitkatla, and Kitkiba. His pedigree, given below, explains his persons. The symbol = marks a marriage, and the male is shown on the left in each case. 611 614



Theoretically, *Quai dik* is as much a native of Smith Inlet as he is of Bella Coola where his father made his home. If he should visit Smith Inlet and male known his pedigree, he would be received by the members of the ancestral family of his great-great-grandmother.[1] His welcome would be more assured if he were the owner of a tone from their origin myth. Difficulties of communication and frequent wars made it virtually impossible in the old days to keep in touch with relatives in distant villas, except in the case of a mighty chief who was able to invite visitors from great distances to feasts. [628] These custom taken by women in foreign husbands were virtually lost to the members of her ancestral family. In the course of a few generations, well-designations carried afield would be revived as if dormant by some member of the family, and all recollection of the foreign marriage forgotten. 614 553 198

[1] In the Bella Coola [illegible] village, it was impossible to [illegible] [628]

L McDerath E-5 (1522-1524) 1948
NES Bellacoola NES

614 553 178 773 The converse of this process of loss is the assimilation to an origin myth of names originally brought into the ancestral family by a woman from abroad. Unless intercourse and friendly relations were maintained by "return marriages," in a few generations no tradition would be remembered to account for the name, and this, if used at all, would be interwoven into the well-known ancestral myth. Hence a myth is not static with regard to the names embodied in it. These change from generation to generation; it is probable that elements of the story itself suffer like additions and alterations, even though the people do not consider this to be the case.

611 614 The Bella Coola regard the ancestral family as a social unit, not only in terms of the present, but as stretching back to the first settlement of the earth. Viewed from this angle, it is in fact, though not admitted to be so by the Bella Coola, a unilateral grouping with patrilineal descent, which may, in both the most recent and most ancient generations, be marked by matrilineal descent instead. A man frequently uses prerogatives obtained through his mother, her mother, or even her mother's mother, but it is tacitly assumed that for many previous generations such rights passed in the patrilineal line. Sometimes this succession extended back to the beginning of time; in other cases, prerogatives were transmitted matrilineally for a considerable period after the settlement of the earth, before gradually becoming patrilineal.

614 424 551 It has been thus far assumed that the only prerogative wrapped up in an ancestral name is a knowledge of the myth in which it is embodied. But there are others. For example, several of the first inhabitants of the world are said to have erected totem-poles, each of which was displayed by its owner at the gathering when he took for himself a name. Thenceforth, the only person entitled to use that particular totem-pole design was the person with the legal right to the name in question. The same principle governs all dance names; each entitles its owner to perform a certain ceremonial. Thus it is possible to enlarge the previous definition by saying that:

[532] [535]

The uncertain family consists of those whose uncertain names, embodying definite prerogatives, are embodied in a single origin myth.

A stranger finds it easier to understand why names are so carefully maintained within the uncertain family by thinking of them as symbols of prerogatives, but it must be emphasized that the Bella Coola preserve with equal jealousy those designations of which the only prerogative is the marking of this actual membership.

If, then, the uncertain family be regarded as a group possessing a large number of name-prerogatives, it may well be asked how these are distributed among the members. The first point to be emphasized is that the uncertain family is a unit held together without definite social mechanism. There is no accepted "head" of the family, nor are there any clearly formulated laws governing the transmission of the name-prerogatives. Before death a man usually calls together his relatives and lesquaeths,* according to his desire, his personal property in slaves and canoes, and his intangible property in names. Such a designation does not become the property of the new owner unless he is able to validate his ownership by a distribution of presents, meanwhile the name is "dead." If, during this period, some other member of the uncertain family should desire it for a child, or for himself, he can take possession of it by the customary distribution of presents. In doing so he would anger the legatee, but the latter cannot himself use the appellation since it is already in use. Even at the present time there are bitter quarrels over the assumption of names, and such have certainly occurred for many generations. If a man can validate fairly promptly a name willed to him, it is most unusual for anyone else to try to forestall him.

If a man dies intestate, his name considers dismantles his normal heirs, and the most respected of them validates for himself as many names as he desires or is able to assume. Disputes are not as common as might be expected since the

[illegible]

[illegible] influence of a chief is usually sufficient to settle claims as to which of his brothers shall receive which name. Even if none of them is a chief, some one of them is certain to have greater influence than the others. If a dead man has no sons, his daughters can assume his names, which they may transmit to their children. Failing both sons and daughters, a man's brothers and sisters are his heirs, as usual, the one of influence being the one who really arranges matters.[1] Note the loss, it must be emphasized that if the members of the immediate family are slow to validate a dead man's names, they may be taken by any member of the ancestral family.

In former days it was customary to create a "remembrance" to preserve the ancestral myth. The elder and more influential members of the ancestral family would choose an intelligent young relative to whom to relate the myth in great detail. One informant described how her mother, the last official "remembrance," had been instructed by her grandfather. The old man had been accustomed to take his granddaughter, a girl about twelve years of age, to bed with him, and whisper to her the myth, with his hand pressed over her ears to prevent escape of his words. At the conclusion of the recitation he always spat in her ears to make the words stick. The members of the ancestral family, recognizing that the "remembrance" was the person best acquainted with the myth, were wont to consult him or her about it, and, of course, about the names embodied in it. A "remembrance" had no authority to decree who should receive names, but appeals were often made to him, and a careful individual was frequently able to settle disputes.

Considering the extreme fluidity of the whole system it is surprising that quarrels are not more common. These are limited by the system of wills, through which a man bequeaths his most valuable personal property, especially his intangible property in facial name-prerogatives (II, p. 4). Successful

[1] [illegible]

names are also sold, but since their value depends on the goods expected to validate them, there is seldom literature about their allotment. Indeed, a chief who is the legal owner of a designation which came from above in the beginning of time, will in many cases choose to abrogate his position with respect to a title of comparatively recent date. But if any person who is not a member of the ancestral family should dare to use an ancestral name, all the members rise to avenge the theft, for such they feel it to be. In recent years, however, this practice has become comparatively common. In such cases a man, eager to show to the glories of a myth and able to give a potlatch, has validated an ancestral name to which he has no right. The presence of the white man also contains the mixed ancestral family. Names are sometimes lent or hired to those who are not members of the group for definite sums; the recipient accompanies the individual. Such names are not reserved for several generations; generally speaking, the recipient claims to be the real owner and not the temporary possessor. During his tenancy of the name he is entitled to any prerogative attached to it, but he is not considered a bona fide member of the ancestral family.

Instances have occurred in which an old man or woman, believing himself to be the last survivor of an ancestral family, has entrusted his names and myth to those who have befriended him, or these have been taken by those who buried him. Some individuals are constantly searching to conduct the funerals of friendless old people in the hope of so obtaining names. But as almost every case this leads to friction, since it is virtually impossible for an ancestral family to die out. Perhaps in the next generation, perhaps in the following one, some youth will claim descent from the last ancestors of the supposedly defunct family, and claim the myth and names entrusted thereto. This leads to a feud with the parents, or his descendants, who have received the names through and given to the "last" of the family.

Such instances of an ancestral family becoming practically

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

L McDerwith E-5 (1922-1924)[illegible]
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tions on this subject always excited them, but every effort was made to verify the following statements.

As with names, the easiest way to understand the rights of the ancestral family in land is by first considering the mythological explanation, which mirrors conditions as they existed at the coming of white men. On reaching this earth the first people are believed to have prospected for suitable settlement sites, places where salmon and olachen could be caught, and if possible, near side valleys where berries were abundant. Here they released the animals and plants which they had brought with them, on which they thenceforth subsisted, in accordance with the supreme deity's instructions. The members of the group pre-empted these areas for themselves. Waste land, far from any village was, and still is, free to anyone. A few years after the first settlements had been made, according to the myths, the supreme god sent down to Kimaquit a certain *Alquantlas* who allotted and marked the territory which was the property of each community; at that time a village consisted merely of a group of the first settlers. No similar myth was recounted for either Bella Coola or *Tilla*, although their concepts with regard to land are identical with those of the Kimaquit. This really gave a sacred sanction to the possession of land, an important matter to a people so religiously inclined as the Bella Coola.

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The system of land tenure follows the same somewhat abstruse principles that govern the possession of names in an ancestral family. Hunting and collecting grounds appropriated by the first people, or by their immediate descendants, are the property of their offspring, the ancestral family. The Bella Coola term for such an area is *ca'lium*, also called, *cacmonta*, which means "Food Supply."

It will thus be seen that a hunting-area is not the property of any single individual, but belongs to a group of persons, most of whom live in a single town. The relatives of a man who intends to give a potlatch usually give him, temporarily, exclusive rights to the hunting-ground. As with names, there

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I. McDowalth K.-3 (1922-1924) 1943
NEA Bellacoola NEA

[illegible] THE BELLA COOLA INDIANS

423 is no doubt that a man tends to lose those rights in property
414 which are strictly his, if they are located at a distance. Thus several men claim that they are legally entitled to hunt at Kitkiba, but from mere difficulty of access neither they nor their fathers have exercised the right, and it would have been lost in the course of a few generations, even without the other decay of custom which has followed the advent of the white man. Practically, a man hunts only in the grounds of those ancestral families in whose origin myths he has names, though, theoretically, he is entitled to hunt on any hunting-ground of any ancestral family of which he is a member whether or not he holds a duly validated name from its origin myth. It is not necessary to confess the right to property as with a name, though a validated ancestral name is the usual mark of a man's right to that area of the ancestral family to which that designation belongs. Although the ownership of land in distant regions is of little practical importance, it is, none the less, a
[554] matter of great pride to a man to feel that he has rights in many places. The efforts of an individual to make good those
[721] claims has often led to bloodshed; in fact, one intelligent old man stated that property disputes were the principal cause for
[554] war in British Columbia. A person who lacks hunting-grounds is little better than a slave, whereas one who has much land is important.

The Bella Coola regard land as almost inalienable. Though a man does not own the land of his wife's ancestral family, he can use it and his children have full rights to it. Conversely, a wife can gather berries on her husband's land, though it is
[574] not hers. A guest at a village may be allowed to use the territory of his hosts, but it does not become his. In the old
727 days were between the coastal tribes were common, but though
423 slaves were taken freely, land was never seized; such is un-
[567] thinkable to a Bella Coola. In fact, several of the older people inquired how it had been possible, in the first world war, for the allies, whose cause they believed to be righteous, to annex territory from Germany. If the victors had killed or enslaved

[illegible] E-5 [1922-1924]/948
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the Germans it would have been moral and proper according to Bella Coola ethics, but to take land was unheard of. 428 [921]

Since land is only valued for hunting or collecting purposes, it is not divided into small areas. Any man can build his house at will near the village. It is said that at Kitlobe the crab-apple trees are the property of different ancestral families, themselves members of different tribes, but this is unknown in Bella Coola. It may be mentioned that the Bella Coola somewhat naively assume that all other coastal tribes have ancestral families similar to their own, although they recognize that some of them also have a clan system which has no counterpart in their social organization. Since the concentration of the tribe on a small reserve and the beginning of agriculture, a system of individual ownership of cultivated land has sprung up. It is realized that if a man clears and cultivates a field, the produce is his own, and he can will this land to whomsoever he pleases. Likewise a man who rings a tree to kill it for firewood is the sole owner. The Bella Coola regard uncultivated land in the reserve as being at the disposal of anyone, a concept which appears not to have been taught them by any white administrator. Its origin seems rather to lie in the old belief that any unpreempted land, far removed from a village, can be used by anyone. It is recognized that the reserve cannot be considered as a *cul'chow* belonging to any ancestral group, hence it is free to all. One corner of it, however, includes the lower part of a side-valley formerly used by the people of Tionsef. An old man, whose ancestral family lived in that village for generations, has set his bear-traps in this corner of the reserve for a number of years without interference from other hunters, who go far afield with their traps. Even within the limits of the reserve it is felt that this man has the prime right to that area for the use of himself and his family. [824] [197] [428] [614]

Theoretically an ancestral family may die out. Several accounts were received of old men who, believing themselves to be the sole survivors of their family, bequeathed their names 614 428 921

1:McDonald E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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Bella bella NES

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and hunting-grounds to those who had helped them in their old age. But in every case the gift turned out to be of doubtful value, since young men grew up who claimed membership in the supposedly defunct ancestral family and combatted the right of those to whom it had been given. This always led to war.

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The following is an instance of a feud which arose from the bestowal of a hunting-area.

It is said that about 1830 the people of *Tiwaur* (probably Bute Inlet) captured a Bella Bella woman as a slave. She escaped and fled up the *Tiwaur* River, hoping to come in contact with the Bella Coola, who often hunted in that area. The woman was found by the mother's father of an informant who carefully looked after her while he was hunting beaver and brought her back to Bella Coola, thence sending her to Bella Bella. In gratitude her father, a Bella Bella chief, gave her rescuer the hunting-area known as *Nalum*, near Kwatna Inlet, with the consent of the members of his ancestral family. The land so alienated should have remained permanently in possession of the Bella Coola ancestral family, but was too far removed from Bella Coola to be used regularly by the new owners. After the death of the Bella Bella chief, a number of individuals who claimed membership in his ancestral family asserted their rights to it. Many years later, after white traders had made their appearance on the coast, a Bella Coola went to *Nalum* and killed a large number of beaver. As he was leaving with their pelts he was murdered by some Bella Bella, ostensibly as a trespasser. But for the restraining influence of the white man this incident would undoubtedly have led to war. The informant still feels that he is entitled to hunt at *Nalum*, and did so several times when he was a young man; but his sons have never exercised the right, and it has practically lapsed.

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It is unfortunate that the above incident is drawn from Bella Bella, where the power of chiefs is much greater than among the Bella Coola. Consequently it is impossible to say

1: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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exactly what right the Bella Bella chief had to dispose of the land. The informant assumed that he must have been powerful enough to dictate to his followers, an unknown possibility in Bella Coola. However, the informant regards the case as typical of what would likely happen should a Bella Coola try to give away land. Out of generosity or gratitude old men have sometimes done so, but always they have forgotten someone, perhaps a mere infant, who on growing up lays claim to the *sol'alam*.

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Hunting-grounds are not the only valuable parts of the country. Even more important are stretches of river suitable for salmon-weirs. Of the same type are good places for olachen-nets, and rocks from which these fish can be caught with scoop-nets. Like hunting-grounds, these are said to have been pre-empted by the first people[1] and have passed into the ownership of the ancestral families descended from them. It is needless to repeat the gradual lapsing of rights to property of this kind in distant areas, since the principle is the same as that already described for land.

In one respect, salmon-weirs differ from hunting-areas, since the latter can be used by any number of individuals, whereas the number of salmon-traps possible at any one weir is limited. Again the mythological origin must be given to explain the customary usage. If, for example, a salmon-weir supposedly built by one of the first groups of people was fully manned in the third generation by ten individuals, it is as-

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[1] Several Bella Coola myths describe how the first-comers brought with them from above stone hammers for the construction of fish-dams, and how others were provided with miniature dams which grew larger when placed in position. Mr. H. I. Smith kindly gave the writer the following account, received from an elderly Bella Coola:

Long, long ago a certain *Tamakus* lived with his father, the Sun, who decided to send his child to earth. He came down to *Bisus*, carrying a stone beneath his arm-pit, and accompanied by a Wolf. *Tamakus* made the stone into a pile-driver with a face sculptured upon it, and with this tool drove piles to make a fish-weir. After a while a number of human beings came paddling up the Bella Coola River. In course of time the Wolf returned above, but *Tamakus* remained on earth catching salmon, and teaching the people the method which was in use until the last few years.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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423 sumed that ten is the largest number of traps possible at that
●614 weir. Those who have the right to that weir are the members of the ancestral family with the names of those first users. At
[773] this point the logic of the Bella Coola fails to uphold the mytho-
[226] logical pattern. No salmon-weir has remained in existence since the beginning of time; when one broke, owners were sometimes infants, and those who repaired the break became regarded as the rightful possessors. The system of ownership prevailing at the time of abandoning the weirs, was that *individuals*, not groups, had rights to certain sections of the weir
[428] which were willable like other personal property. In most
[431] cases this right was transmitted with a name, marking the section of weir, which had to be duly validated by presents.
[428] In other cases, the intangible ownership was willed without any mark whatever.[8] Unless bequeathed in this way, disputes were frequent. Rights of this kind were never sold although
[427] an owner often leased his section for a night, or longer period, receiving goods in return, and not forfeiting his ownership
[431] thereby. This was particularly common when the renter was planning to give a potlatch. No case was heard of in which the right to a certain section of salmon-weir was given to a non-member of the ancestral family. Theoretically, this was possible, but practically it would be so inconvenient that it is most unlikely ever to have occurred, since the Bella Coola is
[671] never such a slave to legal privileges that he fails to be guided by common sense.

226 Although individual ownership is thus recognized with regard to sections of salmon-weirs and suitable places for
[423] olachen-nets, the owner is bound to share his haul. When he catches a large number of fish, anyone, whether related to him
[577] or not, can demand some. He cannot refuse, since to do so
[626] would brand him as selfish. The effective check on this system

[128] [8]Great difficulty was experienced in learning about the distribution of rights to sections of salmon-weirs. The evidence is conflicting, and though every effort was made to verify and check the above, there may be further regulations which were not learnt.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

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lies in public opinion which expresses contempt for a lazy man 626
who is constantly begging.

To anyone familiar with the definite social groupings of a 614
tribe divided into clans or land-owning families, the ancestral family of the Bella Coola must appear as a vague and unreal unit, only distinguished by its intangibility. So it was found when investigating in the field. When information began to accumulate, it seemed as if there must be some definite obligations incumbent upon all members of the ancestral family, but none could be found. Without asking a direct question, the point was raised whether, if a man were killed, the members of his ancestral family would unite to avenge him. Conversely, [629] were they liable for the deeds of any member? In each case the reply was in the negative; these matters concern only the immediate family. In regulating marriage the ancestral family is important, since it is wise for a man or woman to seek his [582] mate within the members of that group, though it is not compulsory. Theoretically, the terms of kinship applied to members of the immediate family may be extended to members of [601] the ancestral family, but in practice this is rarely the case, [178] and, if so, is functionless. It might be argued that this somewhat wide application of kinship terms, verging on the classificatory usage, is a relic of an earlier, and now broken-down, clan system. It is impossible to prove or to deny such a contention. When trying to discover whether the members 614
of an ancestral family ever contributed to a potlatch whereby 622
one of their fellows established himself as a chief, the following 431
interesting comment was received. The previous winter the 171
informant had been in Bella Bella, and there the point was raised by a Bella Bella chief whom he quoted as follows:

"We laugh at you Bella Coola because each of you is always trying to be chief. Our system is much better; we all help our chiefs."

The man agreed with the Bella Bella man that there was an important difference between the practices of the two tribes.

1:McDowalth E-5 (1922-1924) 1945
NES Bellacoola NES

614 The recent decay of Bella Coola culture may have destroyed
[182] traces of more definite obligations with respect to the ancestral family, but all the evidence indicates that it has always been a fluid unit. Its very lack of functions makes it difficult to
[128] discuss, and the above account was pieced together from scraps of information collected from many different people at various times; yet, intangible though it be, it is a very real unit to the Bella Coola and pervades their life. Each individual knows those to whom he is related. In many cases the exact kinship is lost, but it is remembered that a man from such-and-such a village married a woman from another village, and it is proved from the use by their descendants of names from the same origin myth. The concept of physical strength imparted by a closely akin ancestry is always present and gives a person the real "power" in the village founded by those first ancestors
614 of his. For the ancestral family is usually thought of in terms
621 of villages. A man belongs to the village where his first ancestor came to earth, though he is equally a member of other towns into which his ancestors may have married. A
[554] man without ancestry, without *sol'olum*, is a miserable creature; he has no home in this world, or, theoretically, in the world to come. The ancestral family is a unit essentially held together by the ties of sentiment and pride of ancestry.

614 In addition to the above social elements of the ancestral
827 family, it is felt that all its members have certain tendencies. If one of the first ancestors had a certain physical peculiarity, or met with a particular kind of fortune, either good or bad, his descendants are more likely to experience the same than any other people. These tendencies may skip many generations, and may be inherited either through the mother or the father. In fact, Bella Coola belief on this point closely agrees with modern knowledge of heredity; the term for such an inheritable tendency is *ssâlsxlâm* or *sxânsmadjut*. Such characteristics are:

(1) Proficiency in using tools;
(2) Ability as a hunter;

(f) The bearing of exceptionally well-behaved children; 614
(g) The bearing of exceptionally naughty children; 827
(i) Disposition to steal;
(k) Uncontrollable sexual desires;
(l) Sudden death, that is, members of certain ancestral families are less apt than others to die of disease or old age;
(k) Death by drowning. One informant, in whose family this is a tendency, has twice been thrown into the water and barely escaped. He fully expects to meet his fate in this manner;
(p) Insanity (not a common malady); [158]
(m) Dribbling at the mouth with increasing age;
(n) Liability to contract the skin disease known as *fajuls*. With regard to the transmission of this disease the surprising information was received that if a relative of a sufferer should drink from the same bucket or use the same spoon as the patient, he is likely to contract the disease, whereas another person can use them with impunity. This statement may be based on a knowledge of germs learnt from the white man, and warped by a belief in inheritable tendencies, although it is amazing that the theory of germs could have reached the elderly Bella Coola. Possibly this statement is a relic of an old belief in the transmissability of disease through contact, but it is more reasonable to ascribe it to white influence. 614 827 953 177

In a later chapter an account is given of certain occupational abilities, including that of carpentry, which must be confirmed and validated by presents. The above are quite different; they are either present or absent without any action on the part of the individual. 614 827

The Village Community

The village community referred to in the preceding section consists, fundamentally, of the descendants, traced in the patrilineal line, of the reputed first settlers to occupy a site. Since a Bella Coola always describes himself as a native of such-and-such a town, it follows that the village community 614 621

614 is a more obvious social grouping than the ancestral family,
621 though it is of the latter that a man is most proud. The
member of a small, unimportant village often describes him-
self as a native of a neighbouring, larger one when at a distance
from his home, simply as a matter of convenience.

Even before the coming of the white man, village sites were
abandoned and people took up their residence with friends or
[573] relatives elsewhere. In fact, mythology contains instances of
such migrations at the very beginning of time. In cases of this
[561] kind, memory of the earlier home has been preserved for many
generations, and may perhaps be the explanation of the many
villages which are described as two, and which have two names.
In the early days immigrants seem always to have been wel-
come; they added to the numerical strength of the village, and
the original inhabitants enjoyed boasting to the newcomers
of their descent from the first settlers. Since any group forced
to abandon their own homes naturally moved to those of rela-
tives, there is no difficulty in understanding the process by
[582] which they continued to intermarry with their new neigh-
bours. Thus two, or even more ancestral families, inhabiting
one village tended to form a closely inter-related stock. In
rare instances, two unrelated ancestral families may have
become inhabitants of the same village, which would unques-
tionably lead to intermarriage.

In most cases the endogamic tendencies already described
cause the village community to be largely members of one
ancestral family. In addition there are always other occu-
[563] pants; strangers who have fled from their homes and sought
refuge among the Bella Coola; the offspring of illicit intercourse
[567] with slaves; guests; foreigners, especially Carriers temporarily
[554] resident in Bella Coola; and finally slaves, without status in
the community. The real inhabitants, those whose power is
firmly planted in the village, are the reputed descendants of
the first group of settlers, and accordingly a relative coming to
[553] dwell in a village usually endeavours to obtain a name from
the origin myth of the ancestral family occupying it, and thus

[illegible] (1922-1924)[illegible]
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[illegible] himself with the traditions of his new home. This is another illustration of the patrilineal tendency of the whole organization. 621 [614] [553]

Politically the village is the most important Bella Coola unit. Usually, though not always related to one another, the inhabitants are always friends. If an attack is made on a village by a hostile war-party, all the inhabitants suffer equally. On the other hand, if the residents decide to attack another settlement, there is no compulsion for anyone to share the burden. Each individual, with the exception of slaves, follows his own inclination. In the case of murder or other wrong inflicted by an individual, the responsibility rests on his immediate family, not the village. Factions within the village seem to have been unimportant; individual jealousies were common, and often led to murder, but if a family became unpopular or considered itself aggrieved, it usually moved to another village. Neighbouring settlements were generally on friendly terms and often assisted each other in war, but this was not compulsory. Indeed, cases are known in which a war-party from the outer coast, about to attack *Sinef*, passed within a quarter of a mile of *Sinaqa-ts* without its inhabitants even warning their threatened neighbours. [628] [682] [578] [627] [628]

As far as internal organization is concerned, the village is as fluid a unit as are most Bella Coola groupings. If one individual has attained a position of eminence through the potlatch system (vol. I, chap. IV), he is "chief" of the village, and his advice is generally followed. If several men have approximately the same importance, there is no dominating figure. In any case, a chief lacks executive authority, and such obedience as he receives is due to his personal influence. Some slight deference is paid to the man who uses the name of the eldest of the first group of settlers, the first chief, but this is not sufficient to warrant the title of "chief" with the significance usually attached to the term. The important members of the village are accustomed to meet for the discussion of ceremonial mat- 622 554 [556] 621 623 535 796

L.M. Dovalik E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

The married sons of a chief usually live in his house, and if he is very powerful the husbands of his daughters may also reside with him. Such a man is at the zenith of power, surrounded by a close group, formed of elderly relatives, of children and grandchildren. Connections by marriage are also added to the family group. At the present time, for example, one Bella Coola man is looking after his brother's widow, and it is felt that she is a member of his family.

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Another way in which a rich man can increase the size of his family is by adoption. Parents who have lost an infant may adopt the child of some member of the ancestral family of either father or mother. The matter is usually arranged soon after birth, and the transfer takes place immediately after weaning. The real parents are willing since they know that the adopting parents will be able to validate valuable prerogatives and names for the child, which they themselves are unable to do. This desire for their child's welfare overrules parental love. In such cases the real father or mother can likewise bestow names and other prerogatives on the child, who really becomes a member of two families. This is often done by an old couple whose own children have married and moved away, and who thus find themselves lonely. It is considered disgraceful for parents to allow their children to be adopted by anyone not a member of their ancestral family, since that would be an admission of inability to bring up a child in the path of his ancestors.

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[888]

"Your father was not strong," could be said to such a child as a reproach.

In the case of an orphan some wealthy relative is almost always ready to adopt him. Consequently, as he grows up, he receives his full share of the ancestral origin myth, and the names embodied therein, so that the loss of his own parents is of little consequence in the course of life. Occasionally a child is not adopted by relatives, and then his fate is indeed hard.

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shelter in the house of any chief, and shared in the food which was being distributed at the almost continuous ceremonial feasts. Now, each family lives alone and no one feels any responsibility for this old man.

[178]

[illegible] family are liable. It is very rare for a woman to be killed in a blood feud. A death is answered by a death; if two persons should be slain for one murder the family which has suffered the double loss endeavours to kill another of their enemies. In case of wounding, an effort is made to wound the offender, but if he should be killed his family would try to avenge him. More often, one of the offender's family takes the initiative of offering goods to the injured family, "to cure the wound." If the offer is accepted, and the goods delivered properly, the matter is at an end. If a murder be committed within the ranks of the immediate family, for instance, if a brother kill a brother, revenge, if enacted, must be sorted out to the actual offender. If requested to do so, the leading chief of a village may offer his advice, but it is always considered that revenge concerns only the immediate family.

Revenge is a topic which shows clearly the essential fluidity of the family. There are no well-defined degrees of relationship within which responsibility rests. Instead, everyone knows, in the open life of the community, how many persons share the family life of the individual, and they alone are held to account, or they alone demand compensation. From its very nature, the family must be a bilateral unit which, when powerful, stretches out to absorb members of the ancestral families of both mother and father.

Not only does the family thus appear constantly to be attracting to itself members of the ancestral family of either parent, but these relatives themselves are deeply interested in the affairs of the family. This is most clearly shown in the case of children who, of course, are members of the ancestral family of both their mother and father. A few days after birth some relative is expected to call together the people of the village where the child is born for the bestowal and validation of an ancestral name. It is considered an evidence of poverty if this is done by the father, as if his child were only supported by his parents, not by a larger circle of relatives. It is immaterial whether this gathering be called by a relative

of the father or the mother. In June, 1900, a Bella Coola girl had reached the age of about six months without having received a name. There was much adverse criticism about the paucity of her father's father and her mother's father, who were held equally to blame, but who had really been deterred by fear of the law prohibiting the potlatch.

As a child grows older he is helped in the performance of ceremonial rites by his parents and by their brothers and sisters. In this, too, it is considered a mark of poverty if only the parents take part. If a man's own children do not appear likely to carry on the traditions of his ancestral family, he has no hesitation in favouring the children of either a brother or sister, since, like his own, they are all members of the same ancestral family. Especially in Kimsquit* it is customary for a man to help his sisters' children; not that there is any lack of knowledge of the real father, but rather as a mark of respect and family feeling displayed by a man to his sister. Moreover, in both Bella Coola proper and in Kimsquit, it is most improper for a name which a man has raised to a position of dignity by the expenditure of much goods to be passed to his own son; it should go to a distant relative. When a father validates a name for his child it should be one long dormant.

One aspect of the manner in which the family merges imperceptibly into the ancestral family can be seen in the inheritance of names. When a man calls his relatives together to make his will he is guided in the choice of recipients by the characteristics of his children. An able son receives much from his father, but lazy children are slighted without hesitation. This is particularly true of names with which are bound up valuable dance prerogatives, whereas, as previously mentioned, ancestral names of which the importance depends

*According to an intelligent Bella Coola informant, a Bella Bella pays greater attention to the children of his brothers and sisters than to his own offspring, and the same man expressed the opinion that the Kimsquit practice was due to Bella Bella influence. Kimsquit informants denied this, though emphasizing the important part taken by an uncle in obtaining prerogatives for his sisters' children, in some cases to the detriment of his own, which is rare in Bella Coola.

[illegible] on the value of the goods distributed in connection with them, usually revert to the ancestral family and can be revived by any member of it. It seems needless to publish lengthy pedigrees, illustrating the transmission of ancestral names; it will suffice to say that such sometimes pass from father to son, from a man to his brother's son, his sister's son, his sister, his daughter, or to other relatives belonging to the immediate family. On the other hand, with equal frequency, names pass from a man to distant relatives of the same ancestral family.

59 Thus the Bella Coola family, important though it is in the life of the individual, cannot be defined with exactitude either as regards composition or functions; it varies according to the importance of its head, and tends to merge in the ancestral families of the parents.

Kinship Terms

601 In Bella Coola, as in so many parts of the world, kinship terms mirror the social life of the community. The Bella Coola system of nomenclature is not as clear-cut in its application as in other regions, and requires considerable explanation concerning the uses of many of the terms. It will be seen that the system, although fundamentally founded on the family, presents many classificatory features. Whether or not these are to be ascribed to an ancient clan system is most doubtful; a short discussion of that point will be found at the end of this section.

The terms are arranged in the following order: first, an individual's relatives of the preceding generation, then those of the next preceding, with their parents, then those of the present generation, followed by terms for kin of the generations following. Finally come relations by marriage.

TERM	DIRECT ADDRESS	INDIRECT ADDRESS
Father.....	[illegible]	[illegible]
	This term is properly used only by a small child, though often continued by an adult as a term of endearment.	Term used only by a small child.

[195]

[illegible]

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[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	When male addresses male or female addresses female— [illegible] When male addresses female, or female addresses male— [illegible]	When male speaks of male or female speaks of female— [illegible] When male speaks of female, or female speaks of male— [illegible]
	These terms are seldom used except on ceremonial occasions when the bond of [illegible] relationship is invoked, especially if [illegible] is needed in danger. They are also applicable to first cousins. The term most commonly employed for these relatives is the one for "friend," or "partner," which does not necessarily imply relationship. It is— [illegible] [illegible] are usually of the same rank and inhabitants of the same village.	
[illegible]	[illegible]	

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TERM	STRICT ADDRESS	EXTRACT ADDRESS
601 [614] Female relatives of the same ancestral family and generation as the speaker	.....	[illegible]
Child	[illegible]	[illegible]
Son, until twelve or thirteen years old	[illegible], a term of endearment used for any small child, or by name. Use of the personal name becomes more frequent with increasing age.	[illegible]
[551] Son, when adult	By name, or [illegible].	By name or [illegible] (man).
Daughter, until twelve or thirteen years of age	[illegible], a term of endearment used for any small girl, or by name. Use of the personal name becomes more frequent with increasing age.	[illegible]
Daughter, when adult	By name; infantile term of endearment is also sometimes used.	By name.
Stepchild	Same as for own child.	
Brother's child or Sister's child	Usually by name terms as own children, merely as a mark of endearment; also [illegible]. Corresponding to the use of [illegible] where [illegible] is strictly applicable, [illegible] is used in some cases instead of [illegible].	[illegible]. Depending on the composition of the family, this term is in many cases applied to the children of an [illegible] if they form part of the family group.
Son's child or Daughter's child	Usually as for own child, or by name, or [illegible]. This last is merely the term for indirect address, with the endearing suffix, [illegible].	[illegible]
Descendants	.....	[illegible] or [illegible]. Terms used rhetorically to describe a man with many descendants. The latter term means "manyness."
[614] Family	.....	[illegible]; the ancestral family, those who claim descent from one group of ancestors, even though their exact relationship has been forgotten.

differentiate between cross- and ortho-cousins, and the unsystematic groupings of nephews and nieces show "family," as opposed to classificatory, principles. Finally, ancestral terms for the ancestral family, for many ancestors, and many descendants, correspond to the importance of a large number of relatives in Bella Coola thought.

In many parts of the world the classificatory system of relationship occurs where the community is divided into clans. The occurrence of some of these features among the Bella Coola raises the question of whether or not they should be regarded as survivals from an earlier clan form of social organization. The Bella Coola may once have had clans, but their relationship system does not furnish any real evidence to this effect. The reciprocal terms really have the significance, "Relation by marriage of the same generation," or "of a generation once removed," a form of address which does not require explanation in any ancient form of social organization. Moreover, the importance of the eldest child, as potential transmitter of the glories of the ancestral family, is sufficient reason for differentiating brothers and sisters in terms of their relative ages. This feature suggests that in former times this was more important than it has been in the recent past. It is not implied that the Bella Coola never had a clan system, as such may have been the case many generations ago, but their kinship terminology can be explained without that hypothesis. The somewhat wide application to cousins of terms which are properly limited to brothers and sisters may easily have been derived from a process of copying. The Bella Coola are well acquainted with the clan system of the northern coastal tribes, so that it is by no means impossible, or unlikely, that they should have adopted the principle of applying the same kinship term to many individuals, and hence to members of their own ancestral families. Finally, the somewhat vague and unsystematic application of terms to relatives according to whether or not they are members of the immediate family, is a feature not at all surprising in view of the essential fluidity of Bella

184 standardized. Boys and girls helped their parents, and there
476 was no definite age at which they ceased to do so. The fluidity
556 of the Bella Coola system was contrary to any standardization.
The more important a chief became, the more did he receive
from dependent relatives, but the more did they expect in the
way of "return presents." It was advantageous to be generous,
within the family circle as well as without, since life was so
public that every transaction even of a "private" nature, was
well known. Unquestionably, a greedy and strong-minded
individual must frequently have taken advantage of help from
his housemates, but there was no strict code of ethics in regard
to this. In brief, it may be said that the acquisition of wealth
was an unstandardized, individual, matter; its distribution
was likewise according to individual volition, although within
a rigidly defined tribal pattern.

Swaok Society

551 The ancestral names that chiefs desire to raise to a position
556 of eminence are usually embodied in myths dealing with the
575 first settlement of this earth, names which belong, as has been
614 stated, to the ancestral family. Many of these traditions
[585] record other designations as well, each of which carries with it
the prerogative of performing a type of dance known as *swaok*.
These will be spoken of, henceforth, as *swaok* names. The
Bella Coola do not know the meaning of this term. These
[553] names, like ancestral ones, are the potential property of mem-
bers of the ancestral family, but can only be assumed when
duly validated by presents. Such an assumption follows a
553 period of seclusion in the back-room of the house. Both men
556 and women are eligible. A person may be secluded in this way
575 a number of times, acquiring a new *swaok* name on each occa-
[562] sion, but as presents must be distributed every time, it follows
that only the children or relatives of wealthy chiefs can be so
favoured. It is desirable to have the bestowal of a *swaok* name
occur at a potlatch, since guests from foreign tribes are then

he may now repay with one hundred and fifty blankets. The amount of the original present will be announced, so that it is made known that he is repaying with 50 per cent interest. This completes the transaction. The man who receives the additional fifty blankets is not required to repay these, though he may endeavour to do so, should he wish to add to his own fame. It is sufficient if X pays back the principal only, though in that case he does not increase his prestige. No claim is ever made for the repayment of an investment present; repayment is so obviously to the advantage of the debtor that there is no necessity for dunning. A man who did so would expose himself to the ridicule of the community; it would demonstrate that he thought in terms of goods, whereas a chief is expected to give presents as if they were a mere nothing. 426 556* [558]

On rare occasions a chief has been unable to repay his investment presents. In the autumn of 1911, a Bella Bella chief, aided by his son, prepared to give a potlatch, and the news spread far and wide. But during the summer the young man accidentally shot himself while deer-hunting. The father realized that, bereft of his son's assistance, he would be unable to repay even the principal of his indebtedness. He wept with grief. A disgrace of this kind affects the man and all who are in any way related to him, so he called upon his relatives, and they gave him sufficient money to save the situation. In such a case, nobody is compelled to contribute aid, but a feeling of compassion is at work, as well as a vague sense of family pride. One Bella Coola gave this chief $20, although all that was remembered about his relationship to the Bella Bella man was that one of his ancestors had married a woman from the village of the Bella Bella chief. Particular inquiries were made to ascertain whether or not the disgrace of failure to repay would fall on the ancestral family and whether they were legally bound to contribute. Such is decidedly not the Bella Coola concept; only feelings of pride and affection govern the contributions. Assistance of that kind is given without witnesses, 426 556* 558 [614]

[illegible] 203
[illegible] 556*

As with so many elements of culture, the Bella Coola 203
ascribe the origin of heralds to the wish of *Ḥaymaṁ* as ex- 173
pressed to the first people in the beginning of time. Some 551
groups of these early settlers brought with them heralds whose
games had been created by the supreme deity himself in his
house in the land above. Such a one was [illegible] who was a
member of *Kemcas*'s (2, p. 340) party at Kimsquit, another
was [illegible] who came with [illegible] (2, p. 340). These
heralds functioned in the manner of their descendants of to-
day; others of the first chiefs appointed certain of their rela-
tives to perform this service, and by means of the power with
which they were endowed, created names with respect to their
functions. Besides his ordinary name every herald must have
an ancestral appellation of some kind, as well as the proba-
bility of possessing *fuciar* ones in addition to those of a pro-
fessional nature. Either by bringing with them from above,
or by creation on this earth, each group of first settlers became
provided with a herald, whose name is embodied in the ances-
tral myth describing their experiences. As each of the first [428]
heralds died, his name was passed to a successor, and this
practice has been carried out from generation to generation
until the present. The Bella Coola state that no new names
for heralds have been created since the time of the first people,
and it is certain that none has been made for many years.
Consequently, the number of heralds is strictly limited in
accordance with mythological beliefs, and every man who owns
one of the ancient designations embodied in an origin myth
knows the name of the herald associated with his first name-
sake.

At the death of a herald his name becomes dormant. Since 203
heralds function at all ceremonies, whether or not the donor 553
belongs to the same ancestral family as themselves, the mem- 556*
bers of the group sustaining the loss are not deprived of their 614 ●
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203 services. None the less, one of their prized prerogatives, the
553 visible embodiment of an element in their ancestral myth, is
*556 no longer present. In such circumstances, no member of an
614 ancestral family would give a potlatch unless able to revive at
[424] it the dormant name in a new herald. The intending donor
usually consults with the senior members of the ancestral family
as to a suitable incumbent, or especially if he is an influential
chief, he may simply use his own discretion. In either case,
some relatively young member of the ancestral family is offered
the post. If he accepts, the matter is settled; if not, another
is invited in his stead. The new herald cannot function until
his name and appointment have been validated by the distri-
bution of presents at the potlatch. Such gifts are not return-
able, since they are held to "have become nothing" for the
name. Relatively lavish expenditure for this purpose is one
of the many ways in which a chief is able to show his prowess
and generosity. Thus established, a herald can carry out his
duties thenceforth. He functions at every ceremonial, but
especially at potlatches given by members of his own ancestral
family, in whose origin myth his own name is embodied. From
[627] constant participation in all kinds of ceremonials, a herald
[796] becomes conversant with every type, and is appealed to as
arbiter in difficult points of ritual, thus adding to his repu-
tation.

203 Although acceptance of the post of herald somewhat cur-
*556 tails a man's activities in other respects, instances are known
of energetic ones using the gifts received to establish them-
selves as chiefs, passing on their herald names at the same time
to other incumbents. More often, a herald uses his wealth for
the benefit of a son or other relative, being satisfied with his
own status in the community. He takes a prominent part in
every ceremony and is a person of some standing, yet is spared
the responsibility of actually giving rites himself, a position
which offers many attractions to a man lacking great ambition
and initiative.

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Totem-Poles

A feature embodied in many ancestral myths is a description of the totem-pole[1] erected by a group of the first people, either according to a design given them by *Ālguntām*, or in consequence of their experiences on this earth. It is the privilege of a chief descended from that group to erect such a pole, under the same restrictions as apply to the portrayal and use of other features belonging, not to him individually, but to the ancestral family as a whole. Totem-poles are also frequently erected to depict incidents connected with the ancestors of a chief, even if there is no mention of one in his ancestral myth. In either case, the setting-up is a source of pride to the chief; especially as it emphasizes the importance of his ancestors, and its display must be duly validated. Theoretically, this may be done at a gathering of less importance than a potlatch, but in practice it occurs at no other ceremony, since a chief wealthy enough to erect a pole naturally desires it to be seen by as many persons as possible.

Poverty limits the number of totem-poles, but is not sufficient to account for their relative rarity. It is a matter of pride for a chief in whose ancestral myth there is mention of a pole to erect one, but all myths do not include totem-poles. Consequently the absence of one before the door of the chief's house is not proof of the owner's poverty or lack of importance. This matter was investigated with great care, and all the older people reiterated that the number and size of their poles were never as great as among the northern tribes.

When a chief is preparing for a potlatch, he allots, among other carpentry tasks, the construction of a totem-pole, if he is sufficiently wealthy to reward the artisan and to validate the erection in the customary manner. If a special design is embodied in the ancestral myth containing the name which he is about to assume, or to make strong, he indicates that design to the carpenter. In the story of *Ālkwi* (I, p. 312), for

[1] *Ashaiātl*, "Outside Post."

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

the same manner the fluent speaker outlines a myth belonging 537
to the ancestral family of X's mother, again with emphasis on 585
the dancers used by her ancestors. X, as a member of both ancestral families, can combine his rights from both sides, but it is customary for him to use no more than five or six performers. Should X have no claim to this privilege from either mother or father, an almost unthinkable situation, he is able [426]
to borrow the prerogative of using some from friends. The sentiment on which this oration of myths is based is the one so often mentioned; it marks the close relationship between the future children and their noble ancestors of old, a source of strength to the former.

X's father now names those whom he wishes to assist him 585
on the following day. These are the dancers, who are chosen [535]
primarily for their skill in dancing, and secondarily in accordance with their rank. With them he selects a number of persons to stand near and help or "cherish" them as they perform. He also asks the services of some of the women who are professional droners; of the keeper of the marriage song of his [614]
ancestral family; and, finally, of a number of men to sit near the singers and assist them with suggestions. It would be most exceptional for anyone so called upon to decline the honour. It is near morning by this time and the guests depart.

On the following morning, the actual wedding day, X's father calls to his house those selected the previous evening as dancers and their assistants. The former wear blankets decorated with small copper ornaments[4] and carry circular wooden [534]
rattles provided with handles. Their clothing and rattles may be their own, but if they do not possess suitable attire, it is incumbent on X's father to provide them. Skins are piled up within the house, and some of these are said to "make soft the

[4] At the present time there is uncertainty as to the proper clothing of a marriage dancer. Several informants stated that it was a copper-decorated blanket, whereas others said that there was no special attire; one man claimed that an attempt was made to imitate the form and costume of X's first ancestor, and another that raised costume was used. Probably there was no uniformity in custom. [292] [535] [184]

1: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

585 handles of the rattles"; symbolizing that they are pads to protect the hands, though the dancers derive no benefit from the pelts, which are stacked with others for later distribution to Y's family. A large amount of provisions has been prepared and placed in boxes, one for each member of Y's family. In many cases it is difficult to estimate how much food will be required, and if there is a surplus, it is eaten by the performers and other assistants.

When all are ready they rush forth; dancers, dancers' assistants, and young relatives of X, followed more sedately by his father. The rest of the villagers watch with interest, but do not take part in the ceremony. Choosing a position outside Y's house, the singers beat the time of the marriage
[533] song used by X's ancestors; if the words are known they sing
[424] them. Like the prerogative of marriage dancers, there may not be a marriage song embodied in every origin myth, but if
[426] X lacks such he is usually able to borrow one.* The keeper of the song is stationed near the singers, ready to help them with the words or the tune, if necessary. Meanwhile the
[535] dancers are performing on the sidewalk outside Y's house. Each uses whatever type of dance he chooses, *kusiut*, *sisaok*, *a'alk*, or even shaman's, but all dance simultaneously, though without paying greater attention to each other than is
[533] necessary to avoid collisions. The professional droners accompany the singing with their high-pitched quaver.

Meanwhile Y's father, surrounded by his relatives and friends, waits in readiness within their house. Y herself is

*The reputed origin of marriage songs has been described in vol. I, chap. vi. They are less strongly preserved as prerogatives than most elements of origin myths; in fact some keepers of the songs are willing to perform at any wedding, although this may be a modern development. The keeper, either man or woman, is chosen by
[614] the senior members of the ancestral family, after discussion with the singers. It is his duty to remember text and tune, and the only pecuniary advantage is from the presents made by those to whom he teaches it. Some songs have words, others only a tune. The text of a song brought down by *Ālpuntūn* to *Snalkā'ā* is:

"Hello, *Sotoālatla*! We do as we have done before. Please make good the path for those who are about to marry."

Ālpuntūn obtained this song from his heavenly namesake and used it at his own marriage, as his male descendants have since done.

764 while the relatives are preparing the body for disposal. For a child, these services are performed by the parents; for a married man whose parents are dead, by his brothers and other kindred; for a married woman, by her husband or the members of her own family. If she has borne no children, it is customary for her relatives to carry out the funeral rites, especially if she has been many times rebought from her husband. If such repayment has not been made, it is considered correct for a husband to bury his wife, although it is a point of honour for her relatives to reimburse him later for his expenditure. On the other hand, when children have been born and financial assistance mutually given and received several times, it is proper for the husband to perform the funeral rites, although he may receive assistance from his wife's kinsmen. There is no rigid ruling on the point, but bickerings seldom occur in connection with disposal of the dead. Members of the ancestral family are ready to assist in every case, both on account of the disgrace that would follow a niggardly funeral, and also as a means of displaying their wealth. [614] [556]

The first essential is to wash the body, a rite performed by men for a man, by women for a woman. It is immaterial who does this though some of the relatives usually volunteer. Neither husband nor wife touches a dead consort, though it is said that long ago a man would hold intercourse with a deceased wife to indicate his excessive grief. The most influential member of the immediate family takes the lead in the various necessary acts, although there is always endless discussion and advice from members of the ancestral family and others interested. A nose-ring is placed in the septum of the corpse; if this is omitted, the body will not be able to dissolve into its elements but will range the earth as a walking phantom, causing injury to anyone who observes it. If the deceased has just eaten some of the first run of spring salmon or olachen, a shaman washes out his mouth with a sponge of undyed cedar-bark which he throws into the river. The essence of the salmon is thus extracted from the body; if [839] [301] [175] [825]

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Indeed, a grave is never
965 disturbed except, rarely, when it is necessary to obtain a
[789] portion of a skeleton for magical purposes. In such a case,
the coffin lid must be lifted up on the side away from the
[961] opener, so that he looks within over its upturned edge. A
person failing to obey this injunction will soon die.

968 Burning or deposition near the grave is not restricted to
the actual utensils and artifacts of the deceased. There, too,
must be laid dried salmon which a man has smoked for winter
use, as well as pulverized berries and other foods made ready
[964] by a woman; to eat food prepared by a dead person seems
indescribably indecent. In recent years, the crop, if a man
dies after tilling and sowing a field, is allowed to ripen, and
then rot unharvested. So, too, the canoe in which a body has
been brought home must be destroyed. The Bella Coola are
not always able to state reasons for these actions, but it is
[961] apparent that the underlying sentiment is that the taboo of
[789] death lies upon any object prepared by the deceased, or that
has been in contact with a corpse.

964 The rituals described above may be considered as religious
in nature; almost equally important are the social require-
431 ments of paying those who have assisted at a funeral. This
556 indebtedness falls on the near relatives, though all members
of the ancestral family are obligated in a somewhat indefinite
[614] manner. If a canoe has been destroyed that did not belong
to the deceased, the owner must be recompensed. Presents
must be given to the pall-bearers, to the woman who bore the
flaming bark, to the grave-diggers, to those who delivered
laudatory orations, and to all others who assisted in any way.
Failure to do so brands the relatives as misers with little respect
for the deceased; lavish recompense shows that they have the
outlook and minds of chiefs. Consequently, even poor people
try to give as generous rewards as possible, both for their own
sakes and out of respect to the dead person. Unfortunately,
it was impossible to obtain details of the ceremony at which
this takes place. The increase in wealth in recent years has
made it possible to give memorial potlatches soon after death

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969 sum being used for each name, and the bills were displayed
*556 before messengers carried them to the recipients.

Finally, Jim Pollard took the opportunity to bestow on
553 Captain Schooner the name, *Snusilkāls*. This designation
425 was the property of the donor's ancestral family and should
[614] not have been transmitted without the consent of all its mem-
[622] bers. Jim had probably informed several of them of his intention, but no objections would have been raised if he had overlooked this courtesy, since he is the only *numitl* chief among them, and the only one with determination and prestige. It was not an outright gift, since it was announced that it must be returned to the donor's family on Captain Schooner's death. Jim Pollard acted as his own announcer for this transaction, explaining that he gave the name in gratitude for the help which Captain Schooner had rendered at the death of his, Jim's, father about twenty years before. He promised that at the earliest opportunity he would give presents to validate the transmission.

969 During the lengthy distribution of money, the audience had
*556 shown unmistakable signs of weariness. It was now between 2.00 and 3.00 A.M., and as soon as Jim had finished speaking the guests dispersed quietly, though many of them gathered in groups in one another's houses to discuss what had taken place.

Captain Schooner slept late after the lengthy ceremony, but was proud and contented when interviewed about noon. He felt that what was fitting for his daughter had been performed, and was willing to take the consequences of having broken the law.

968 Little else of note occurred in connection with Jessie's funeral. Samuel King deposited near her grave a sewing-machine which his wife had used for only a short time and Captain Schooner decided to replace this with an older one belonging to his wife. He made this exchange on the afternoon of June 30, when Samuel, in company with a number of women, was burning the rest of Jessie's clothing and possessions. Captain Schooner explained his act by saying:

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has gone contrary to something about which there has been universal agreement for generations. 771 754

To understand Bella Coola medicines it is, therefore, necessary to regard them as concepts deep rooted in tribal history, and made potent by the suggestibility of those who practise them. This can be most clearly illustrated with regard to those effecting death, but is equally true with regard to all medicines, whether curative or causative. 828 [784] [755]

There remain for consideration the sociological aspects of medicines. Knowledge of most remedies has been handed down for generations as the property of ancestral families. Some are acquainted with one or two "cures," some with many, and some with none at all. The name of the discoverer of a particular medicine is usually lost in antiquity, though it is often attributed to someone described in the family's myth. Like other possessions based on mythology, a remedy of this type can be practised by any member of the group to which it belongs. If it is observed that a certain individual is using one of these successfully, others will ask him to apply it for them. Payment is always expected, but the sum varies enormously, depending upon the efficacy of the remedy, the difficulty of operation, the generosity of the person benefited, and so many diverse factors that no general conclusions can be made. A patient may observe the details of the treatment, but unless he is entitled to it, he would never dream of using it himself. This is due not only to honesty, but to the conviction that only a person with the inherited right to a certain cure can perform it successfully. Rarely, such knowledge is sold or given away outright, but, like other possessions of an ancestral family, this usually leads to friction and jealousy on the part of those overlooked. Some of the simple herbal remedies are common knowledge and are used by all, since remembrance of their ownership, if it ever existed, has been lost. At the present time it is difficult to learn details of proprietorship of some medicines, but these are indicated whenever possible. 424 755 757 [614] [465] [614] [425]

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(*i*) Brought from above as a present from *Ālqunstem*.
(*j*) One of the dancer's first ancestors.
(*k*) Combined themes such as this, referring both to the approaching potlatch and the dancer's origin myth, are common at potlatches and *kukusiutek*.

599*

am'hl·a Song Used for Ḵ̄amspoxtmom of Kimsquit(a)

A Ḵ̄aiyeɛmālaxa | skānuqomnapilsdax | ḵ̄ismaiustadax | se·itamshḵ̄ālsaix
Presently the people who lack prerogatives will envy(*b*) what I possess. Because

dānuɛmaiyelist | dam'hl·asadai
it increases annually, it is *am'hl·a*(*c*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

*B Samk'ānax·adomdax | P̄ōnpalōtsdimat | 'an'nā'asamy*ʷ*mis*
In the beginning there came down | *Pōnpalōtsdimat*(*d*) | with his river(*e*).

Shawamāsīpis | tsqwanqwanimālsnats | moakas·wals
He seats himself | at the mouth | of the "Heavy One"(*f*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C The last part has been forgotten(*g*).

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 30*a*, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
(*b*) The word *nuqom*, which is translated as *envy*, is used only for the desire of ancestral prerogatives which can never be attained except by those who are members of the ancestral family concerned. [424] [614]
(*c*) It was impossible to obtain literal translations of the subdivisions.
(*d*) A name which *Smooan* (I, p. 332) took for himself on earth. It is claimed that the composers of this song erred in using this designation.
(*e*) *Smooan* came down to the Kimsquit River, but the grandiloquent phrasing expresses the sentiment that man and stream came together.
(*f*) The Kimsquit River is sometimes termed *Wōkas* as its name as chief. This designation was obtained by *Smooan* from Bella Bella, with his marriage to a woman of that tribe, and bestowed by him on the river. [103] [424]
(*g*) This song was used during the winter of 1923-4 and nearly led to friction. It is claimed that the right to the name *Ḵ̄amspoxtmom* was lent to a Kimsquit man who failed to return it. The borrower has been dead many years, but when his son proceeded to dance, one of the singers who was related to the original lender refused to take part in the singing. [578] [426] [424]

Ṯlaiyāham Song Used for a Kimsquit Man(a)

A anx·shqodja | aiyadiomtaipas | ditwinamldada | aiyawamnukwals
I have obtained | the ancestral right | which displayed | my forefathers(*b*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

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*533 *B Sāastatsugwao* | *alāsulīs* | *skā'ālpsdulsdai* | *dismātimpdjs*
Go within | my house, | I am giving food | to my friends.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C The third part of this song has been forgotten.

[614] [424] [685] [609] (*a*) Recorded as song VII D 28b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. It is said that this song has been handed down for generations in an ancestral family; they now regard it as a family possession and would consider its use by others to be stealing.

(*b*) Many years ago a solitary Bella Bella used to paddle to Kimaquit almost every year. He was dressed like a chief and had the mien of one, so that his hosts assumed him to be a person of importance. It was later found that he was a poor man. The mocking of foreigners is a common theme of *a'alk* songs.

ʌm'lelʌ Song Used for Xɪmxɪmlaix(a)

*533 575 578 *A Nulwulēukāxūnumqualsun* | *slēwesmaikila*
He has fallen so that his buttocks are uppermost, | Hail(*b*)!

Damunmulsun-imut | *skusiutdas*
He has come to hurt, | that *kusiut*(*c*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B and *C*. The second and third parts have been forgotten.

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 3c, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(*b*) A mockingly deferential salutation used in *a'alk* songs describing the *kukusiut*.

(*c*) *Xɪmxɪmlaix* was an *a'alk* who is said to have seen a Cannibal *kusiut* when the latter was supposed to be in the land above. A song was composed about the incident, and the above fragment has been remembered for many years. *Xɪmxɪmlaix* was initiated into the *kusiut* society; see vol. II, p. 265.

*533 575 796 203 As already described, whenever a dancer is performing, the women utter a peculiar high-pitched drone and the heralds call out remarks suitable to the occasion. A phonograph record[1] was made of the drone, followed by a cry suitable for either *sɪsaok* or *a'alk* dances. The following words are virtually sung:

Yelosūldimut | *stālimpakais*
Do not err, | chiefs.

[1]Recorded as song VII D 29c, National Museum of Canada.

#192 *ʼatstmap*, "Come and eat": Invitation to the *ʼatsaist* to assemble in a performer's house.
ʼatsha: House beams.
ʼaut-ste: Messenger bearing invitation to a potlatch.
[752] *ʼaddzap*: Massage.
[585] *ʼaddzawak*: 1—Presents, regarded as clothing, etc., given by the groom's relatives to the bride's kinsmen when the latter visit his house on the wedding day.
[431] 2—Other presents given by the husband's relatives to the wife's kinsmen prior to her repurchase.
[583] *ʼawaqʼist*, "The Throwing Off of a Heavy Burden from the Shoulders": Said of the repayment by a wife's relatives of presents received from her husband's kinsmen.
ʼawalstste: 1—Battering-ram.
2—The destruction of the house of a chief who is about to give a potlatch.
ʼaxlqaʼdam: One of the names of the supreme god.
[201] *ʼqalmastem*: Notification, by pressure on the foot, to a chief to go to the meeting-place.
[533] *ʼsalsaam*: The employment of feminine stick-beating.
ʼsqlo-mem: Hot Springs on South Bentinck Arm.
ʼsstskqalmas, "The Hearing": Synonym for *ʼalstem*, q.v.; this is a Kimsquit term only.
ʼt-qimut: *Kwiatam* rite in which the performer appears to be burnt to death.
ʼt-qualtem: The casting of *ʼsaist* masks on the fire.
ʼtymuk, "Far from the River": Village on the upper Kimsquit River.
[847] *ʼtsaal*: Abortion.
ʼt-wetla, "Disappointed": said of the supernatural beings called by a *wáʼá* dancer who arrive too late for the potlatch.

ulka: Slave from the lower Fraser owned in Kimsquit during the last century.
[101] *ulmaktamp*: Bella Coola term for the Bella Bella.
ulmaktaskstamas: Half-brother or half-sister.
[601] *umlk*: 1—Man.
2—Son; term used by old person in direct address to adult.
3—Husband.
[614] *umlkato*: Male relatives of same ancestral family.
umlkiles: Women who performs man's work.
[601] *umlkstato*: Single brother in a family with several sisters.
umulki, plural, *umulkaki*: Small boy, especially son; term used in indirect address.
[431] *ʼqalla*, "Working Clothes": Presents given by the relatives of the future bride
[584] to the kinsmen of the future bridegroom at the first announcement of the engagement. The implication is that they will have to labour industriously to obtain the wealth necessary for the marriage.
[821] *uminaxal*: Cold wind of the mornings, semi-anthropomorphized.
usaly: Bella Bella term for the *ustay*.
[563] *ustay*: Bella Coola term for the people of mixed Bella Bella-Kimsquit stock who inhabited the shores of Dean Channel.

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ksholmut: *Kwiat* name of a *Nuxalk* man.
ksla'wimut: *Kwiat* name of a Bella Coola man.
[824] *kspel*: Inner bark of cedar.
ksnishwut, "A Stripping Off": The giving, on demand, by a marriage dancer of his clothing to a herald.
'ksowapsilaix: Supernatural name of Raven.
[828] *ksuaix*, "Frenzied": Term applied to Cannibals and other destructive *kukusiut* when in a state of madness.
ksyum: Occasional exclusion of all but the singers from a house where a shaman is performing.
ksowaxwaxlaix: Kitsaquit man mentioned in an ancient story.
ksowatman: *Kwiat* name, probably of Kwakiutl origin.

M

Ma'ulus: Female dancer mentioned in a Raven story.
Malkiut: *Kwiat* name of a *Kemgaix* man.
[601] *mama, mamia, mamas*: Mother, term used by children.
Mamaiya: Celebrated *Xenaix* hunter.
[825] *mam-aiya*: Butterfly.
mam-gila: Measuring worm.
[824] *mam-ia*: Fly, insect.
ma'mukia: Swamp gooseberry.
[601] *mda*: 1—Father, common term in indirect address.
2—Occasional designation for the supreme deity.
mendimut: Stepfather.
[614] *mesmesuks*: Elderly male relatives of same ancestral family.
Mexmy: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Nuklum* in the beginning of time.
2—Form of the name *Dudexmy* when used by a male child.
Mexmy-aw-a: Form of the name *Dudexmy* when used by a female child.
Mistalitlawk: One of the supernatural Carpenters.
Mistipawuk: One of the supernatural Carpenters.
[804] *mi-kp*: Measure of distance equal to the breadth of one thumb plus one finger.
[825] *mi-ny'*: Toad.
mitipa: Supernatural giant toad.
mitlin: Salmon eggs.
mu-mqin: Old male sea-lion.
[825] *mu-sutkha*: Water ouzel.
Mkqmtsis: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Mkusstilas, "Long Neck": One of the supernatural names of Great Blue Heron.
[601] *mnsai-i*: Co-husband in a polyandrous household.
[824] *mu'usal-i*: One of the paralys.
mqlul: Berry, black in colour.
Mkumsklitma: Generic term for the four supernatural Carpenters.
mumkulp: Spruce.
Mlal'ula: One of the first men to settle at *Ialla* in the beginning of time.
Mlalhamu: Land of salmon.
[224] *Ml'uh*: Mountain in the upper Bella Coola valley.
mlu-a: Stick carried by hunters when penetrating into the mountains.
[824] *mlla'*: Red bearberry.

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mixmixqwlp: Leaf of salalberry.
mila·wadjut: 1—Omen of misfortune, such as preceded the outbreak of smallpox, hence, [824]
2—Smallpox. [787]
milka: Type of sea-going canoe with raised prow and small stern.
mina, vocative, minao: Child. [601]
Minakais: Supreme god when addressed in prayer.
mink': Excreta.
minmints, vocative, minmintcān·i: Ancestral family, practically equivalent to *children* when used by an old person. [614]
minskānmaxta: The commemoration of a chief's potlatches and other major ceremonies by means of plain posts erected near his grave. [211]
Mintlato·snim, Tide-Measurer: A supernatural being.
Mistelos: Man mentioned in a song. [764]
Mitlakila: Supernatural being who gives potency to *sisaok* rites.
mitletsta: Grandiloquent expression used by the *kukusiut* with reference to the way in which supernatural beings govern the length of human lives. [776]*
mitlālosām: 1—The condition of being within range of speech and vision. The term is used to describe relations formerly existing between the dead and the living. [775]
2—To visit, term used with reference to the coming of a masked representation of a dead person; the significance is similar to that expressed in the first meaning.
mok': Pounded, dyed cedar-bark used to decorate ceremonial objects.
mokwaks: Head-ring of cedar-bark worn by *kusiut* initiates in the upper Bella Coola valley.
moqla: Lice. [825]
moqwila: Adolescent youth.
moxmoxkt': Blue grouse.
moxmoxllolikānda: Dentalium-shell ear-rings worn by adolescent girls during seclusion. [301]
mu: Hand net for catching olachen. [227]
mudcāmkeksta: Yellow cedar stave decorated with swan feathers such as is carried by a Mystery dancer.
mustomax: Wrestling.
Mutan·a: Rivers Inlet man living in the last century.

N

Nain'akwas: One of the first men to settle at Smith Inlet in the beginning of time.
Nā'mu: Bella Bella village; the Anglicized form is Namu.
nān·: Grizzly bear. [825]
Nānāntlis: Name received from Grizzly Bear by a Kimsquit man in the beginning of time.
Nānātl: *Kusiut* name of a *Nusqalst* man.
Nānātskwi: One of the first men to settle at *Stmx* in the beginning of time.
Nānatskwitl: One of the names of Mount *Nusqalst* as chief.
nān·imnt: Non-ceremonial weeping, usually individual, and always with real feeling. [827]
Naos: Indeterminate locality in the distant east. [15.2]

 192*

numao, vocative, numaotao: Member of same sex and same ancestral family as speaker. [601]

Numätlam: Supernatural being who comes with *Noätqmm* to bring a call to the latter's protégé. [614]

Numelshmut: One of the names of Great Blue Heron as chief.

numitl: 1—A passage, especially the digestive tract. [826]
2—Laudatory adjective applied to chiefs, referring to goods distributed.

numnumktäs: Toilet-hole.

numlutsmam: Recompense, virtually pay, given to carpenters and other craftsmen at a mourning ceremony. [465]

numnälnmmax: Exchange marriage. [583]

numpälotlmm: Passenger.

Nu·mts: Place near *Nulkax.*

Nunäxmälaix: Kusiut name created by *ɩɩyuyuɩ* at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.

nunmaoi di mänao: Half-brother or sister with different mother from speaker. [601]

nunmaoi ici stänao: Half-brother or sister with different father from speaker.

Nunnaxa'as, "The Inhospitable One": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.

Nunuäxmusk: One of the four supernatural eagle-like creatures.

Nunudjigmm: Supernatural being who created repositories in the beginning of time.

Nunulnusk: One of the four supernatural eagle-like creatures.

Nunulpänem: House occupied by the first settlers at *Nutqmalt* in the beginning of time.

nunu·l'stimut: The use of potent medicines after seeing a giant toad.

nunulkwutstmm or *nunulkwutstimut:* 1—The giving of hemlock-bark and dyed cedar-bark to *Tlitcaplilu·a.* [782]
2—The making of offerings to ghosts by the casting of food on a fire. [775]

Nunumu·sk: One of the four supernatural eagle-like creatures.

Nununaixikdimut: Male supernatural being who travels with *Noätqmm,* takes charge of the singers who also accompany him, and sometimes dances happily.

Nunuska: Mother Nature.

nunupp: Fisherman with inherited right to use of a salmon-weir or of a place for catching olachen. [424]

nunqomamälq, "A Calling Back", or "A Seizing": Term applied to the death of a chief in the belief that it is due to the supernatural artisans having come down to carry him off. The word is often added to their designation. [226] [761]

Nunuqmäli, "Where Water Entered": House of one of the first groups of settlers at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.

Nunuqualaints: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola man.

Nunuqwlelslaiqu·a: Professional name of a female droner.

Nunuqwiutmm: Supernatural being; this is probably a synonym for one of the Carpenters.

Nunushmai: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola man.

Nunusmaouk: One of the four supernatural eagle-like creatures.

Nunuxwmolsk: Kimsquit hunter mentioned in an ancient story.

Nunutthunmm, "The One that Penetrates to the Head of the Rivers": Supernatural name of sockeye salmon. [825]

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[824] *sqedilp:* Cedar roots.
sqetl: Sling.
[578] *sqetlqethm:* To use a sling.
sqili: Term of opprobrium applied to a woman, signifying slave ancestry.
[821] *sqinawas:* Fleecy cloud.
sqiols: Muzzle-like power which binds the mouth of a Cannibal against ordinary
[412] food.
sqima: Wooden comb.
S'qis't: Land of Ashes, alternative term for *Sqaml.*
sqo: Umbilical hernia.
[601] *sqolynes:* Distant relative of female sex, when referred to by man.
sqolkisdjot: Long phallus.
Sqomell: Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
sqosa: Unconsumed portion of share of food carried away by guests from a meal.
sqosely: Food distributed for carrying away as *sqosa.*
[415] *sqols:* Large, flat, soft basket of broad strips of bark.
sqpmeax: Presents given by guests to the donor of a memorial potlatch.
[431] *sqtelp:* Maple.
[824] *squm:* Sudden start that expels the spirit.
squpaitl: Outer plank of cedar, convex and bark-covered on one side.
sqwal: Love song or other non-ceremonial composition.
sqwalem: Fern, probably one of the genus *Aspidium.*
[533] *sqwalxwalam:* 1—Theme of a song dealing with current events, especially allusions to the faults of someone present.
2—Singers who use this type of composition.
[825] *sqwal·ātin:* Large, unidentified bird.
[374] *Sqwlālua:* Heat: A supernatural being.
Sqwli: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.
[825] *sqwo'sin:* Loon.
[262] *stai·tl:* Mountain goat marrow, a food which is said to have remarkable powers of preventing hunger.
Stalqalosam, "The Increase of the Sun's Heat through the Addition of Fire Sticks": *A'alk* name obtained in the beginning of time.
stāltimy; plural, statāltimy; vocative plural, stātāltāmy:
1—Chief.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Ālqālāxl* in the beginning of time.
3—One of the first men to settle at *Sinxl* in the beginning of time.
4—Name created by *Smaoan* for a grandson.
5—*Sisaok* name of a Kimsquit man.
[601] *stān:* Mother, term commonly used by an adult in indirect address.
[825] *stāndabitlam:* Bat.
stāndimut: Step-mother; the term is also applied to other women of the generation
[601] older than the speaker and related to him by marriage.
stāntānamts: Elderly female relatives of the same ancestral family as the speaker.
[614] *stāolt:* Whetstone.
Staots: Man mentioned in a story.
[412] *Stap':* Mountain near *Tāb·io.*
staqam, "What Is Hidden": The correct solution of the Mystery dance.
stātimmts: Archaic term for chiefs, now used only rhetorically.
[824] *stals:* Cranberry.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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Xemlaix: One of the first men to settle at *Xemqe·ts* in the beginning of time.
Xemtum: *Kusiut* name of a *Sisiutl* man.
Xemxemlalts: 1—One of the nine supernatural siblings.
2—Ancestral name of a Bella Coola man.
Xemxemlaix: *Sisaak* name brought from above in the beginning of time.
Xemxemtum: 1—Supernatural beings who request the sun to appear.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Xlpalxal* in the beginning of time.
[533] *xe·tle:* Boastful type of song used by chiefs on war expeditions and at potlatches.
Xedilkes: One of the first men to settle at *Xetlaalx* in the beginning of time.
Xelkes: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit woman. The designation is *pl* Bella Bella origin.
[825] *'ixpe:* Marten.
[412] *xile:* Stone axe.
xilxil: Party of potlatch messengers and the invitation they bear.
[203] *Ximpdimut:* Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Ximmlaix: *A'alk* man mentioned in an ancient story.
Xmmmeslaix: Celebrated female shaman.
[821] *ximpindz·i, plural, ximpindzakzi:* Little girl.
[517] *Xinpmes:* 1—"Little Girls": Group of stars in the Great Bear.
2—Picnic, especially one on which fern root is gathered.
Xinsis: Bella Coola term for the Carriers living near Ootsa Lake. This is said to be their own name for themselves.
Xsimtu·a, "Right Foot": *Stuax* repository named from part of a supernatural creature.
Xipis: Mountain in the Carrier country.
xemtnots: Spirit, one of the supernatural elements in the human body.
xlixtum: Ceremony prior to a potlatch when tasks are allotted and the donor's house destroyed.
xlixl: The entrusting, before death, of a name for the benefit of a relative.
[586] *Xlitwalt:* Mountain in the upper Bella Coola valley.
xlokw·imut: The irrevocable desertion of her husband by a wife.
[825] *Xmaxts:* Locality below *Nuxpalxt.*
xmpmatsl: Minnows.
[601] *xmu:* Woman, or wife in indirect address (*ki xmulaix:* My wife).
[614] *xmuxuts:* Female relatives of same ancestral family, term of indirect address.
[423] *xmudzm* or *xupmudzm:* The right by which a husband uses his wife's land, though it is not his own.
Xnutli: Bella Coola sorcerer living in the last century.
xolelt: The forcible washing of a Cannibal.
Xoltxwsem: Name acquired by a man mentioned in an ancient story.
[785] *xoltjut:* Intercourse held during ceremonial chastity; the term has a sacred significance.
[891] *Xomtsla:* Male professional singer who came down to the Dean River in the beginning of time.
Xomxomps: Ancestral name of a *Stuax* man. The designation is said to have come from Smith Inlet.
Xompstem: Supernatural scoop-net fisherman, servant of the supreme god.
Xopalis: Bella Coola man mentioned in an ancient story.

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Since the end of the last century they have dwindled down in numbers, and a few only of their once populous villages are still inhabited, namely, Sâtaq, at the head of Dean Inlet; Nûtl'a'l, at the mouth of Salmon River; Nuqa'lkn (which embraces five villages, at the mouth of Bella Coola River; Stû'in, twenty-eight miles up Bella Coola River; and Ta'lio, at the head of South Bentinck Arm. The dialect of Nûtl'a'l and Sâtaq differs slightly from that of the other villages. The following is a list of their ancient villages, most of which are still inhabited at certain seasons, although not regularly:— 161 361 [197] 103 361

1. Sâtaq.
2. Nûtl'a'l. The tribe of this place is called Sûtalcmn.
3. Nuqa'lkn, embracing the villages K'emkô'tza and Stekô'etl on the north side, Pô'intla and Nutnô'intakônê on the south side of the river.
4. Sxnqtl.
5. Tsômô'etl.
6. Snû't'ak'.
7. Nû'kmita.
8. Asx'nanô.
9. Nuk-â'sqmsta.
10. Tsqcqk'â'nô.
11. Nû'sk-'alst.
12. Nûtlte'iq.
13. Stû'in, twenty-eight miles from the sea.
14. Snû'tl'alstl. Nos. 4 to 14 are situated along Bella Coola River, and are given as they are met with in ascending the river.
15. Sîâ'aqtl, at the confluence of Bella Coola and Driver (?) Rivers.
16. Ta'lio, at the head of South Bentinck Arm, embracing K'ea'pô, Ta'lio, Nû'ik', A'sêq.
17. K'eâ'lma, at the bay of that name in the southern entrance of Bentinck Arm. On the north entrance of Bentinck Arm were the Kîlô'ôl, but it is doubtful whether they belonged to the Bîlqula or to the Hâ'ilteuk. The latter call the people of Dean Inlet Ki'mkuitq. [101]

Each of these tribes is subdivided into gentes, which appear to be arranged in exogamic groups. I learnt the names of the following gentes, which bear the names of their ancestors:— 614

Gentes of the Nuqa'lkmn:

1. Tuk'eâ'la (=looking down on his family).
2. Spuqpuqô'lxmq; Qê'mtsica name: Mâ'lakyîlatl (see p. 415).
3. Sîatlqêlâ'aq.
4. Ka'hâqk'ana.
5. Pô'ilna.

Gentes of the Nuak'a'latxmn:

1. Tl'ak'anmô'et.
2. K'êuqêtlâ'nê.
3. ?

Gentes of the Tâlio'mn:

1. Iale'stmêt (=making good fire); Qê'mtsica name; T'â'l'xntâlit (=a cave protecting from rain).
2. Spatsâ'tlt.
3. Tumqoâ'akyas.
4. Ha'mtelt.

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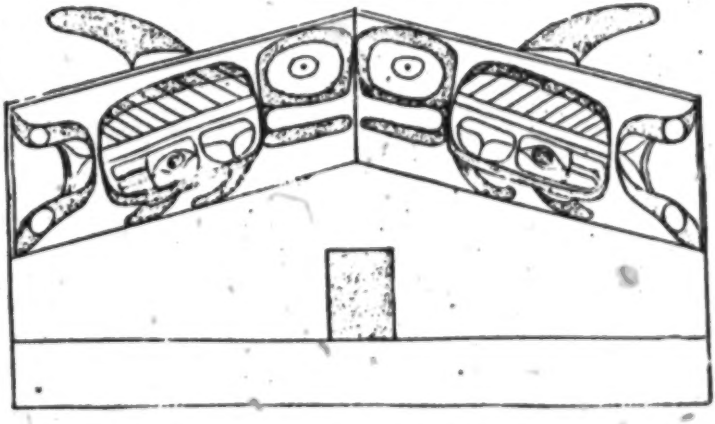
614 582 [551] The evidence which I can present regarding the laws of intermarriage is the following: I inquired of Nusk'ɛlu'sta (=cold water in face), a member of the Ialo'stimōt gens, whether he might marry a Spatsā'tlt woman; this suggestion he rejected with the greatest indignation.

FIG. 1.—House-front of the gens Tōk·oā'ls.

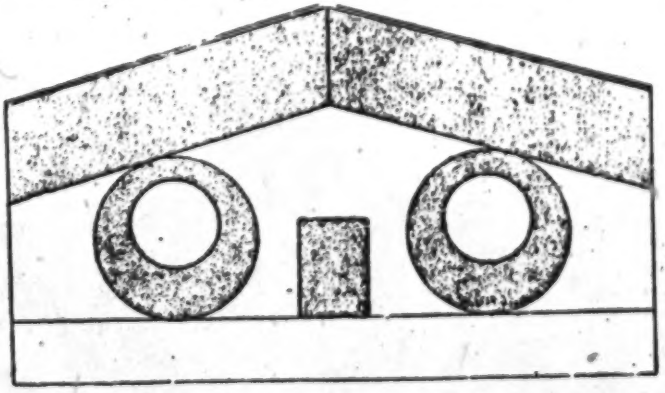
[342] [532]



Members of the first two gentes, he explained later on, are not allowed to intermarry, neither are members of the last two gentes, while the first and second may marry among the third and fourth. He accounted for

FIG. 2.—House-front of the gens Tlak·aumō'ot, representing the moon.

[342] [532]



this by stating that Ialo'stimōt's son married Spatsā'tlt's daughter, and that consequently the two gentes were related to each other.

614 The gentes have crests similar to those of the neighbouring coast

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tribes. The crest is represented in paintings on the house-front and on dancing implements.

The gens Tōk·oā'is has a killer-whale (*Delphinus orca*) painted on the house-front (fig. 1). The tradition says that the ancestor of this gens

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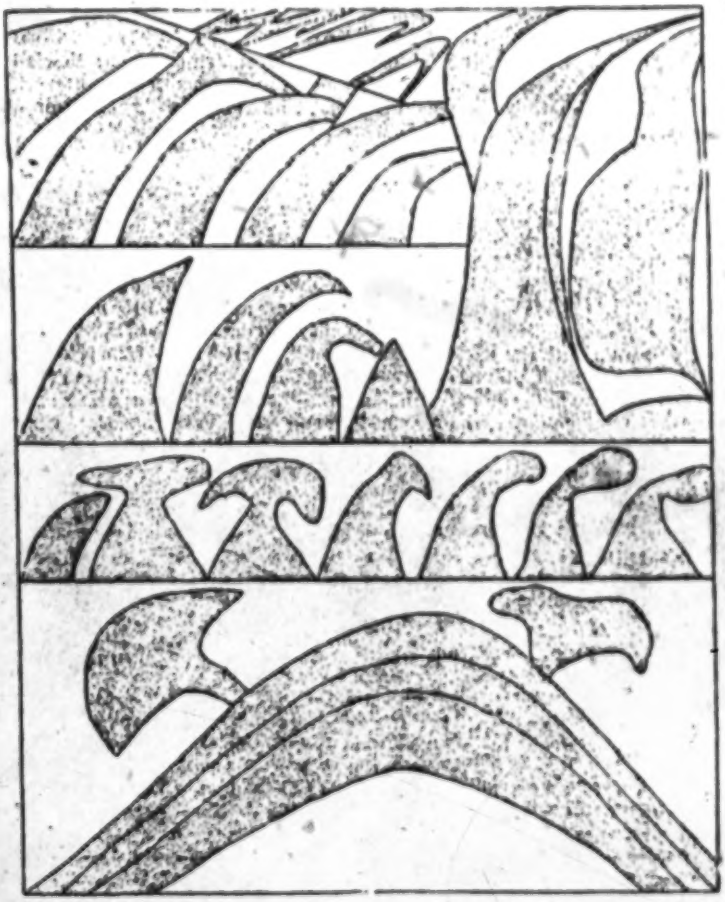
FIG. 3.—Crest of the gens Smō'EN, showing the mountain Suwā'KHH, with two clouds near its summit; above a mackerel sky.



one day, when hunting in the mountains, found a house on which a killer was painted. The chief who lived in the house invited him and presented him with his crest for himself and for his descendants. The crest consists of the killer-whale, eagle, swan, and heron.

The crests of all gentes were obtained in like manner.

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614 The gens Spatsā'tlt have breakers painted on the house-front, and use in dances the mask of a large kind of whale (*k·'ents*), of the crow, and of
532 the black bear.

342 The gens Tumqoā'akyas use the mask of Ōnestsitō'ma (=the sleeper) and the eagle.

The gens Tl'ak·aumō'ot of the Nusk·'ᴇ'lstᴇmʜ use the moon (fig. 2).

The gens Ialo'stimōt of the Tālio'mʜ use the raven, robin (*aist'a'qonē*), eagle, whale, the bird *t'ēntlala* (genus?), and *s'atlsā'ots*, the flood-tide. They have sun, moon, and stars painted on the house-front, and the *nusqē'mta* suspended from the beams of the roof (see p. 420).

The highest gens of Nūtl'ᴇ'l has the name Smō'ᴇn (=the north wind). He has the mountain Suwā'kʜʜ surmounted by a mackerel sky, and with clouds on its sides, painted on his house-front (fig. 3). Another object belonging to his crest represents waves.

614 The children belong to the gens of either father or mother, the deci-
851 sion being left to the choice of the parents.

Secret Societies and the Potlatch.

171 The social organisation, festivals, and secret societies of the Bilqula are still more closely interrelated than they are among the Kwakiutl, and
575 must be considered in connection. We have to describe here the potlatch, the Sisau'kʜ, and the Kū'siūt. The Sisau'kʜ corresponds to the Tlōola'qa of the northern Kwakiutl tribes, the Kū'siūt to the Ts'ētsā'ēk·a. The Bilqula believe that the potlatch has been instituted by ten deities, nine
556 brothers and one sister, the foremost among whom is Qē'mtsioa, to whose
773 care the sunrise is intrusted. He resides with the others in a beautiful
776

Fig. 4.—Mask representing Qē'mtsioa.

Fig. 5.—Mask representing Qēmqēmtlā'otla.

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house in the far east, and cries ō! ō! every morning when the sun rises. He has to take care that the sun rises properly. The first six of these deities

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575 773 776 796 trails of ermine skins, and to swing carved rattles. The man, later on, returned to the sun. Ever since that time the Bilqula dance the Sisau'ke. Besides this it is stated that the Raven gave each gens its secrets.

FIG. 8.—Mask representing K'ōmk'ōmkt'ilkya.

FIG. 9.—Mask representing K'ula'qawa.

532 575 776

614 532 422 Each gens has its peculiar carvings, which are used in the Sisau'ke only, and are otherwise kept a deep secret, i.e., they are the sacred posses-

FIG. 10.—Mask representing Kulō'lian.

FIG. 11.—Mask representing Ti'ōtsa'apōtlāna.

[575] [776]

[534] [292] sions of each gens. All gentes, however, wear the beautiful carved headdresses and use the raven rattles, regardless of the carving they represent.

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represent. Every time the sacred objects of a gens are shown to the people a potlatch is given. The sacred objects, although the property of the various gentes, must nevertheless be acquired by each individual. That is to say, every free person has the right to acquire a certain group of carvings and names, according to the gens to which he or she belongs. Slaves and slaves' children, also illegitimate children, could not become Sisau'kH. A person cannot take a new carving, but must wait until it is given to him by his relatives—father, mother, or elder brother. Nusk'ulu'sta, to whom I owe my information regarding the gentes, and who is a member of the gens Ialo'stimōt of the Talio'mH, stated that he had received the raven when he gave his first potlatch. At his second potlatch he received the eagle. He hopes that his mother will give him the whale at his next potlatch, and will at the same time divulge to him the secrets connected with it. In course of time, he said, he might get even others from his brother; but if the latter's children should prove to be very good, and develop very rapidly, his brother would probably give his secrets to his children. At festivals, when a person acquires a new secret, he changes his name. Each person has two names, a Kū'siūt name, which remains the same throughout life; and a Qē'mtsioa name, which is changed at these festivals. Thus, Nusk'ulu'sta's (which is his Kū'siūt name) present Qē'mtsioa name is Atl'itlxsanz'lus'aiH, but at his next potlatch he intends to take the name of Kalia'kis. These names are also the property of the various gentes, each gens having its own names. In the list of gentes given above, the names enumerated are the Kū'siūt names of the ancestors. In two cases only the Qē'mtsioa names have been ascertained (see p. 409). When a man possesses several Sisau'kH secrets he will distribute them among his children. When a girl marries, her father or mother may, after a child has been born to her, give one or several of their Sisau'kH secrets to her husband, as his children make him a member of the gens. When a person gets to be old he gives away all his Sisau'kH secrets. After any secret has been given away the giver must not use it any more. The crest and the Sisau'kH carvings must not be loaned to others, but each person must keep his own carvings. The only exceptions are the carved headdresses and the raven rattles, which are not the property of any particular gens.

The laws regarding the potlatch are similar to those of the Kwakiutl. The receiver of a present becomes the debtor of the person who gave the potlatch. If the latter should die the debts become due to his heirs. If the debtor should die his heirs become responsible for the debt. Property is also destroyed at potlatches. This is not returned, and serves only to enhance the social position of the individual who performed this act. It is not necessary that all the property given by a person in a potlatch should be owned by him. He may borrow part of it from his friends, and has to repay it with interest. I was told, for instance, that a man borrowed a large copper-plate and burnt it at a potlatch. When doing so he had to name the price which he was going to pay to the owner in its stead. Since that feast he died, and his heirs are now responsible for the amount named at the potlatch.

The Kū'siūt is presided over by a female spirit, called Anaūlikūtsai'H. Her abode is a cave in the woods, which she keeps shut from February till October, remaining all the while inside. In October she opens the door of her cave and sits in front of it. A woman is said to have been the first to find her. Anaūlikūtsai'H invited her into her cave and taught

575 her the secrets of the Kû'siût. She wore ornaments of red cedar-bark
773 around her head, wrists, and ankles; her face was blackened, her hair
776 strewn with eagle-down. She commanded the woman to dance in the same way as she saw her dancing. The people should accompany her dance with songs, and, after she had finished, they should dance with masks. She said, 'Whenever a person sees me your people shall dance the Kû'siût. If you do not do so I shall punish you with death and sickness. In summer, while I am in my house, you must not dance the Kû'siût.'

575 Ever since that time the Bilqula dance the Kû'siût. When a man has
776 seen Auaûlikûtsai'n sitting before her cave he will invite the people to a Kû'siût. A ring made of red and white cedar-bark is hung up in his house, and the uninitiated are not allowed to enter it. Only in the evening, when dances are performed, they may look on, standing close to the door. As soon as the dances are over they must retire from the taboo house. Each Kû'siût lasts three days.

535 The various dances performed by members of the Kû'siût are also the
575 property of the gentes, and the right of performing them is restricted
614 to members of the gens. They must not be given to a daughter's husband, as is the case with the Sisan'kn dances (see above), but belong to the
424 members of the gens alone. They may, however, be loaned and borrowed
[426] by members of the gens, who have a right to a particular dance, but who do not own it. Permission to use a mask or dance is obtained from the owner by payments. The owner may reclaim the dance or the borrower
575 may return it at any time. Membership of the Kû'siût is obtained through
[551] an initiation. At this time the novice is given his Kû'siût name, which he retains throughout life. Each gens has its peculiar Kû'siût names,
[428] which are inherited by young persons from their parents or from other relatives. Thus a young man who had the name of Pô'pô until he was about seventeen years old obtained at his initiation the name of Ti'akô'etl. I have not reached a very clear understanding of the details of the initia-
[556] tion; it seems that the dance is simply given to the novice in the same way as the Sisan'kn, this initiation being connected with a potlatch. But
[787] still it seems possible that he must 'dream' of the dance which he is to perform. Only the highest degrees of the Kû'siût have to pass through a religious ceremony of some importance. The highest degrees are the
[554] xlaqô'tla (the Ha'mats'a of the Kwakiutl), the Ô'lsq (the Nô'tlmatl of the Kwakiutl), and the Dâ'tla (the Nô'ntsistatl of the Hâ'iltsuk). These grades are also hereditary. A Kû'siût novice may acquire them at once at his first initiation.

575 When the xlaqô'tla is initiated he goes into the forest, where he
785 encounters his guardian spirit. It is believed that he goes up to the sun, and formerly he had to take human flesh along for food. The chiefs held
787 a council the night preceding the beginning of the ceremonies, and anyone who wanted to show his liberality offered one of his slaves to be
[266] killed, in order to serve as food for the xlaqô'tla. The offer was accepted and a payment of from ten to twenty blankets made for the slave. The latter was killed, and the members of the xlaqô'tla order devoured one-half of the body before the departure of the novice to the woods. There the latter is tied up and left to fast. He may stay there for twenty or thirty days until the spirit appears to him and takes him up to the sun,
575 where he is initiated. Early one morning he returns, and is heard outside the houses. He has lost all his hair, which, it is believed, has been torn

Indians the tradition is considered much more clearly the property of the person who has it in charge than it is among the southwestern Indians. A description of the sisau'k ceremonial has been given by Jacobsen in the paper above referred to.[1]

A clan legend which is illustrated in the sisau'k ceremonial is called by the Bella Coola "Samoma" or "Smx̌'yusta." These traditions are the exclusive property of each clan. The laws according to which they descend from generation to generation differ from the laws prevailing among the other Coast tribes. The inhabitants of each Bella Coola village are not subdivided into clans, gentes, or septs; but each village community forms a unit, and possesses the same tradition. In order to keep the tradition in the tribe, the law requires that no person shall marry outside of his own village community. Thus the clan tradition is kept the exclusive property of the village community by means of endogamy. I have made very careful inquiries in regard to this point, and all the old men make substantially the same statement. Even marriages among near relatives are permitted;[2] and although marriages of people who are distantly related, or not related at all, are preferred, it even happens that cousins marry, or that an uncle marries his niece, in order to keep the clan tradition from being acquired by another village community. It seems, however, that, owing to the influence of the Coast tribes, the endogamic system has begun to give way to an exogamic system. Powerful and wealthy chiefs marry outside of their own village community, in order to secure an additional clan legend through marriage. This new system agrees with the one prevalent among the Kwakiutl tribes.

The k̓ō'sint, as stated before, is a religious ceremony in which all the deities of heaven are personified. The members of various clans are initiated according to their clan traditions; but the same societies and the same deities appear in the traditions of all the various clans. From what little I have been able to learn, it seems that there is an elaborate opening of the whole ceremonial, corresponding to the opening of the ceremonial among the Kwakiutl.[1] I received the following description of the opening ceremony:—

The person who invites to the k̓ō'sint, that is to say, the man whose son is to be initiated into one of the secret societies according to the tradition of his clan, requests a person who is called E'xtm to invite the nine brothers and their sister, who reside in the House of Myths, and in whose charge the k̓ō'sint is placed. The names of the brothers are Xtmxtmalā'ts.la, Xt'mtsiwa, Omq'omkī'lk'a, Q'ō'mtsiwa, Almalā'ts.la, Al'umkī'lk'a, K'ōē'lāa, Q'alaxē'wa, Ā'mik'; and that of their sister, t.'ctsā'xpēt.āsa (see p. 33). In the rear of the house an elevated room is prepared for E'xtm, in which he lies down. He is covered with rings made of red cedar-bark. For four days he stays

[1] Tram, 1894, pp. 1-43.

[2] I have described this fully in the Annual Report of the U. S. National Museum for 1895, pp. 310ff.

inhabited by Salish tribes refer to the early separation of the Bella Coola tribe from the related tribes of the Gulf of Georgia, and that in their traditions they have retained the memory of the emigration of part of the tribe from the southern territory. It seems also probable that the allusion to the origin of one family of the tribe on Skeena River refers to a mixture with the tribes inhabiting northern British Columbia. 174

The traditions of the tribes also describe the style of house used by the ancestors of certain village communities; and it is interesting to note that some of these houses correspond to the subterranean lodges that were in use among the Chilcotin, while others correspond to the tents that were in use among the Carriers. It is said that the ancestor of the Nuʟʟc'ix used the subterranean lodge which is called tsʼpa (see p. 87), while the ancestor of the Nusqʟa'ist used the skin lodge which is called skʼma (see p. 64). 171 174 177 342

Since the Bella Coola retain the fundamental traits of the social organization of their congeners in the south, and since their traditions bear evidence of an emigration from that region, and since, furthermore, the linguistic evidence proves that the Bella Coola and the Coast Salish at one time inhabited contiguous areas on the coast, we are justified in assuming that the general culture of the Bella Coola at the time of their emigration must have resembled that of the Coast Salish. The question then arises, How did the peculiar endogamic system and the remarkable mythology of the Bella Coola originate from the much simpler forms that we find among the Coast Salish? 174

One of the most remarkable features in the inner life of the tribes of the northern coast of British Columbia is the great importance of the clan legend, which is considered one of the most valuable properties of each clan or family. It is carefully guarded in the same way as material property, and an attempt on the part of a person not a member of the clan to tell the tradition as his own is considered one of the gravest offences against property rights. The possession of a clan tradition is felt by the Indian to be one of his most important prerogatives. When, therefore, the Bella Coola settled on Bella Coola River, and were thrown into contact with the northern Coast tribes, the lack of a well-developed clan tradition must have been felt as a serious drawback. The physical appearance of the Bella Coola proves that at one time they must have intermarried to a great extent with the Bella Bella. Through these marriages the peculiar customs of the Coast tribes were first introduced among them. This is shown by the fact that a great many of the mythological names can be proved to be of Kwakiutl origin, of which stock the Bella Bella are a branch. Thus the name for their supreme deity, Smaʼyakila, is a Kwakiutl word meaning "the one who must be worshipped." The name Ōʼmqʼōmkilikʼa is also of Kwakiutl origin, and may be translated as "the wealthiest one." The great frequency of 174 177 424 614 [144] 174 177 776

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174 words of Kwakiutl derivation will become clear by a glance at the following
177 list, which contains words that can be proved to be of Kwakiutl origin:—

776 a'xhoala = shaman.
Alk' = speaker.
E'mask'in (p. 49) (Kwakiutl, He'mask'in) = the greatest chief.
[192] Hau'hon (p. 100) = a fabulous bird.
L'E'qoog'ila = the copper maker.
L'E'qumóiks = sister of Mamaxalt'nix (the ending, ilx, designates "woman" in Kwakiutl).
L'E'qumoil' = mythological name of deer.
Ma'lak'ilas.
Mentsi't (p. 48).
Mia'lina = the country of the salmon (p. 38) (Kwakiutl, me) = salmon.
No'skila (pp. 49, 66).
O'mest.k'as (p. 70) = the real O'mest.
O'mest.mai (p. 70).
O'mq'omkl'ik'a (p. 33) (Kwakiutl, Q'ō'mq'omkilik a) = the wealthiest one.
Po'l.os.
Qonātsla'qa (p. 49).
Q'ōmō'qoa (p. 32) = the wealthy one.
Q'ō'mqōlis (p. 49) = rich at opposite side of river.
Q'ō'mtsiwa (p. 33) = wealthy at mouth of river.
Smki'yakila (p. 29) = the one who must be worshipped.
sl'siot = a fabulous fish or snake (pp. 28, 44, 48).
Smayalo'ōsla (p. 29).
T'ō'pewas (p. 97) = the fawn.
Winwi'ns (p. 38) = war.
Wa'k'itxmai (p. 50) = the greatest river.

174 With these names and customs the clan traditions must have found their
177 way to the Bella Coola, but their social organization differed fundamentally
from that of the Bella Bella branch of the Kwakiutl. While the latter,
424 owing to intimate contact with the northern tribes, had adopted the four-clan
system with prevalent maternal descent, the Bella Coola were still distinctly
614 divided into village communities that were not exogamic. It seems very likely
[621] that the jealousy with which the ownership of a clan tradition was guarded
by the Coast tribes was very early introduced among the Bella Coola. Two
means were available for preventing outsiders from acquiring the traditions.
Among the Coast tribes with prevailing maternal institutions, among whom a
limited number of clans existed, the ordinary law of inheritance was sufficient
to retain the tradition inside of the clan. Not so among the Bella Coola.
174 If their organization at an early time was similar to that of the Coast Salish,
182 it is likely that the child was counted as well a member of the father's as
424 of the mother's family, although the young woman generally moved to the
village occupied by her husband. If the child belonged to the families of
614 both parents, it had the right to use the tradition of either family; and
consequently in the course of a few generations, the traditions acquired by
[591] each family would have spread practically over the whole tribe. There were
[851] only two methods possible to avoid this result. The one was to prevent
marriages outside the village community; and this method would seem to
have been most natural for a tribe organized in village communities, members
[621] of which were allowed to intermarry. The other method would have been
to regulate the laws of inheritance in such a way that the child had to

follow either father or mother, but that it had not the right to use the property of both parents. It seems to my mind that the former method was more likely to develop under the existing social conditions, and that to this reason we must ascribe the development of an endogamic system among the Bella Coola. The occurrence of endogamic marriage among this tribe is quite isolated on the Pacific coast. All the other tribes have exogamic institutions, and by this means preserve their property rights. It is interesting to note that the southern Kwakiutl, who originally seem to have been organized in village communities, have adopted exogamic institutions; but there is a notable difference, in the organization of the village community, between the Bella Coola and the Kwakiutl. Among the Bella Coola we generally find four ancestors to each village,—usually three men and one woman. It is true that these are generally called brothers and sister, but they were created independently by Sɛnx, and are therefore not necessarily considered as blood relations. Among the Kwakiutl the village community are considered the descendants of one single being; consequently, among the latter tribe they are all relatives, who are forbidden to intermarry; while among the Bella Coola they are not relatives, and may intermarry.

My inference is, therefore, that the curious social system of the Bella Coola developed through the influence of the customs of the Coast tribes upon the loose social unit of the Salish village community. The possession of clan traditions was felt as a great advantage, and consequently the desire developed to possess clan traditions. These were acquired partly by intermarriage with the Coast tribes, as is shown by the fact that many of these traditions are borrowed from these tribes, partly by independent invention. The desire to guard the traditions which were once acquired led to the development of endogamic institutions, in order to prevent the spread of the traditions over the whole tribe.

The jealousy with which the traditions are guarded has had the effect of making each family try to prevent other families from knowing its own clan tradition. For this reason the clan traditions of the whole tribe are remarkably inconsistent. We find, for instance, that the well-known raven legend of the northern Coast tribes has been utilized by many families as a family tradition. But while one family uses one part of the tradition, other families use other parts of the same tradition. Thus it happens that among the Bella Coola we find the most contradictory myths in regard to important events in the world's history. Some families maintain that the Raven liberated the sun, while, according to another one, the Mink was essential in bringing about the present state of affairs. Still others say that Tɔtɔsɔ'nx, during his travels, caused the sun to appear. The discrepancies in the traditions referring to the visit of the Mink and Wasp to their father, the Sun, are also very remarkable. Although a considerable amount of

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174 contradiction is inherent in all the mythologies of the North Pacific coast,
424 they nowhere reach such a degree as among the Bella Coola; and I presume
414 the fact that the traditions are kept secret by the various families accounts for this curious condition.

The prayers of the Bella Coola directed to Senx or Ta'ata bear a
171 remarkable resemblance to the prayers of the Tsimshian addressed to Laxha,
782 the sky. In both tribes we find the idea that when the Sun wipes his face it will be clear weather, and man will be happy; consequently the prayer to
[821] the deity "to wipe his face" occurs quite often.

One of the most important customs that the Bella Coola borrowed from
177 the Coast tribes is the kn'siut ceremonial, with which are connected the
575 various secret societies, particularly the custom of ceremonial cannibalism. The ceremonies and the paraphernalia used by the Bella Coola and by the
773 Kwakiutl are practically identical. I told above (p. 34) the legend explaining
796 the origin of cannibalism. Among the Bella Bella and Kwakiutl, another tradition is told to explain the origin of this custom. The tradition tells of a spirit called Baxbakualanuxsi'wae, who lives in the forest, and who initiates the members of the Cannibal Society. The series of traditions clustering around this being differ fundamentally from those referring to the Cannibal Society of the Bella Coola. The custom has also spread to the Tsimshian, who say that the secret societies were introduced by a hunter who was taken into the inside of a cliff by a white bear. Inside he saw a house, in which the various societies were performing their ceremonies. It appears, therefore, that the same ritual which is practised by three distinct tribes is explained by three fundamentally distinct myths; and we must conclude that in this case the ritual is older than the myth,—that the latter has been invented in order to explain customs that were borrowed from foreign tribes, so that the ritual is the primary phenomenon, while the myth is secondary.[1]

These considerations explain some of the psychological motives for the
774 development of certain traditions and myths, as well as the curious incon-
773 sistency of the clan traditions of the Bella Coola. They do not, however, explain the most fundamental characteristic of the traditions of the tribe. I pointed out in the third chapter of this paper, that, notwithstanding the numerous contradictions contained in family legends, the conception of the word and the functions of the various deities are so well defined that we must consider the mythology of this tribe vastly superior to that of the neighboring tribes. While the latter believe in a great many spirits which are not co-ordinated, we have here a system of deities. The existence of a systematic mythology among the Bella Coola proves that under favorable conditions the advance from the lower forms of beliefs to higher forms may be a very rapid one.

[1] See Report of the U. S. National Museum for 1895, pp. 60 ff.

[113]

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every morning when the sun rises. He takes care that he rises properly. The first six of these deities are grouped in pairs, and are believed to paint their faces with designs representing moon, stars, and rainbow. In the kō'siut these deities make their appearance, and are represented by masks. Xē'mtsioa and Xēmxēmalâ'oLa wear the design of the full moon, indicated on the mask of Xē'mtsioa by a double curved line in red and black, the black outside, passing over forehead, cheeks, and upper lip. Xēmxēmalâ'oLa has a double curved line in red and black, the red outside, which passes over forehead, cheeks, and chin. Aiumkī'lik·a and Aiumalâ'oLa wear the design of the crescent, drawn in red and black, with differences similar to those between the first and second masks. The fifth Q'ōmq'ōmkī'lik·a and Q'ō'mtsioa have designs representing stars, both wearing the same style of mask. The seventh is Qula'xawa, whose face represents the blossom of a salmon-berry bush. The next in order, Kulē'lias (who wants to have blankets first), wears the design of the rainbow in black and blue. The ninth, Aē'amā'k, wears on the head a mask representing a kingfisher, and is clothed in a bird-skin blanket. The last of the series is a woman called L'ētsā'aplēLāna (the eater), the sister of the others. Her face is painted with the design of a bladder filled with grease. She figures in several legends as stealing provisions and pursued by the people whom she has robbed.

556 773 776 532 575 776

The sisau'k·, which is danced at potlatches and other festivals of the clans, is presided over by a being that lives in the sun. A man who had gone out hunting met the sisau'k· and was instructed by him in the secrets of the dance. When he returned, he asked the people to clean their houses and to strew them with clean sand before he consented to enter. Then he danced the sisau'k· and told the people what he had seen. He said that the being had commanded them to perform this dance and to adorn themselves when dancing with carved headdresses with trails of ermine skins, and to swing carved rattles. The man, later on, returned to the sun. Ever since that time the Bī'lxula dance the sisau'k·. Besides this, it is stated that the raven gave each clan its secrets. Each clan has its peculiar carvings, which are used in the sisau'k· only, and are otherwise kept a profound secret, i. e., they are the sacred possessions of each clan. All clans, however, wear the beautiful carved headdresses and use the raven rattles, regardless of the carving they represent. Every time the sacred objects of a clan are shown to the people a potlatch is given. The sacred objects, although the property of the various clans, must nevertheless be acquired by each individual—that is to say, every free person has the right to acquire a certain group of carvings and names, according to the clan to which he or she belongs. Slaves and slaves' children, also illegitimate children, can not become sisau'k·. A person can not take a new carving, but must wait until it is given to him by his relatives—father, mother, or elder brother. Nusk'Elu'sta, the Indian, to whom I

575 773 776 796 614 424 532 [692] [534] 424 532 556 614 [567] [848] [115]

424 owe my information regarding the clans, and who is a member of the
532 gens Ialô'stimôt of the Taliô'mx·, stated that he had received the raven
614 when he gave his first potlatch. At his second potlatch he received
[115] the eagle. He hoped that his mother would give him the whale at his
[556] next potlatch, and would at the same time divulge to him the secrets connected with it. In course of time, he said, he might get even others from his brother; but if the latter's children should prove to be very good, and develop very rapidly, his brother would probably give his secrets to his own children. At festivals, when a person acquires a new
424 secret, he changes his name. Each person has two names, a kû'siut
551 name, which remains through life, and a Xê'mtsioa name, which is
556 changed at these festivals. Thus, Nusk'Elu'sta's (which is his kû'siut
575 name) Xê'mtsioa name was AL'ILEMNE'lus'aix·, but at his next pot-
614 latch he intended to take the name of Kaliâ'kis. These names are also the property of the various clans, each clan having its own names. When a man possesses several sisau'k· secrets, he will distribute them among his children. When a girl marries, her father or mother may, after a child has been born to her, give one or several of their sisau'k· secrets to her husband, as his children make him a member of her clan. When a person grows old, he gives away all his sisau'k· secrets. After any secret has been given away the giver must not use it any more.
[426] The crest and the sisau'k· carvings must not be loaned to others, but each person must keep his own carvings. The only exceptions are the carved headdresses and the raven rattles, which are not the property of any particular clan.

426 The laws regarding the potlatch are similar to those of the Kwakiutl.
556 The receiver of a present becomes the debtor of the person who gave the potlatch. If the latter should die, the debts become due to his heirs. If the debtor should die, his heirs become responsible for the debt. Property is also destroyed at potlatches. This is not returned, and serves only to enhance the social position of the individual who performed this act. It is not necessary that all the property given by a person in a potlatch should be owned by him. He may borrow part of it from his friends, and has to repay it with interest. I was told, for instance, that a man borrowed a large copper plate and burnt it at a potlatch. When doing so, he had to name the price which he was going to pay the owner in its stead. Since that feast he died, and his heirs are now responsible for the amount named at the potlatch.

575 The kû'siut is presided over by a female spirit, called Anaâlikuta'
773 ai'x·. Her abode is a cave in the woods, which she keeps shut from
776 February till October, remaining all the while inside. In October she opens the door of her cave and sits in front of it. A woman is said to
535 have been the first to find her. Anaâlikuta'ai'x· invited her into her cave and taught her the secrets of the kû'siut. She wore ornaments of red cedar bark around her head, waist, and ankles; her face was blackened, her hair strewn with eagle down. She commanded the

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woman to dance in the same way as she saw her dancing. The people should accompany her dance with songs, and, after she had finished, they should dance with masks. She said, "Whenever a person sees me, your people shall dance the kū'siut. If you do not do so, I shall punish you with death and sickness. In summer, while I am in my house, you must not dance the kū'siut." 575 773 776 535

Ever since that time the Bi'lxula dance the kū'siut. When a man has seen Anaūlikuts'ai'x· sitting in front of her cave, he will invite the people to a kū'siut. A ring made of red and white cedar bark is hung up in his house, and the uninitiated are not allowed to enter it. Only in the evening, when dances are performed, they may look on, standing close to the door. As soon as the dances are over, they must retire from the taboo house. Each kū'siut lasts three days. 575 776 535

The various dances performed by members of the kū'siut are also property of the clans, and the right to perform them is restricted to members of the clan. They must not be given to a daughter's husband, as is the case with the sisau'k· dances, but belong to the members of the clan, who have a right to a particular dance, but who do not own it. Permission to use a mask or dance is obtained from the owner by payments. The owner may reclaim the dance or the borrower may return it at any time. Membership of the kū'siut is obtained through an initiation. At this time the novice is given his kū'siut name, which is inherited by young persons from their parents or from other relatives. Thus a young man who had the name of Pō'pō until he was about seventeen years old, obtained at his initiation the name of L'akō'oL. I have not reached a very clear understanding of the details of the initiation; it seems that the dance is simply given to the novice in the same way as the sisau'k·, this initiation being connected with a potlatch. But still it seems possible that he must "dream" of the dance which he is to perform. Only the highest degrees of the kū'siut have to pass through a religious ceremony of some importance. The highest degrees are the ƛaxō'La (the hā'mata'a of the Kwakiutl), the ō'ƛex (the nū'LmaL of the Kwakiutl), and the dā'tia (the nō'ntsistalaL of the Kwakiutl). These grades are also hereditary. A kū'siut novice may acquire them at once at his first initiation. 535 575 614 575 [426] [551] [428] [556] [171] [554]

When the ƛaxō'La is initiated, he goes into the forest, where he encounters his guardian spirit. It is believed that he goes up to the sun, and formerly he had to take human flesh along for food. The chiefs held a council the night preceding the beginning of the ceremonies, and anyone who wanted to show his liberality offered one of his slaves to be killed in order to serve as food for the ƛaxō'La. The offer was accepted, and a payment of from ten to twenty blankets was made for the slave. The latter was killed, and the members of the ƛaxō'La order devoured one-half of the body before the departure of the novice to the woods. There the latter was tied up and left to fast. He may stay there for twenty or thirty days until the spirit appears 575 785 787 [266]